1986

UA35/11 Student Honors Research Bulletin

WKU Honors Program

WESTERN KENTUCKY UNIVERSITY
STUDENT HONORS RESEARCH BULLETIN
1985-86

WESTERN KENTUCKY UNIVERSITY

STUDENT HONORS RESEARCH BULLETIN

1985-86

The Western Kentucky University *Student Honors Research Bulletin* is dedicated to scholarly involvement and student research. These papers are representative of work done by students from throughout the university.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE

Once again the University Honors Program is pleased to present, in this volume, the best examples of research and writing by Western students during the past year.

I hope that these studies will both encourage their authors to continue spending the time and energy required of scholarly production and inspire others to follow their example. Since a school is known by the production of its graduates, our student body and faculty can only benefit from this Bulletin.

As in past years, this issue demonstrates the wide variations of interest and expertise among our student population. You will find papers here on subjects as far-ranging and broadly divergent as nutrition and political platforms, hospital care and revolutionary artists, folk art and telecommuting, Sir Gawain and Jesse Stuart. In a word, there is something for everyone.

My congratulations to the students represented here and to their instructors, who took the time to demand and help perfect such excellence. Papers submitted this year are welcome as candidates for next year's edition.

James T. Baker, Director
University Honors Program

First and Second Language Acquisition: A Comparison

by Anne H. Padilla

Language acquisition has been defined as the "interaction between the child's [or adult's] mental structure and the language environment, a 'creative construction process'" (Dulay et al. 8). This interaction involves give and take between the individual and his environment; acquisition, then, is an active, dynamic process. Using creative construction the learner subconsciously and gradually organizes the language he hears according to rules by which he then can create his own sentences in the target language (Dulay et al. 8). For a very young child the target language will be his first or native tongue; for an adult (and for some children) it will be a second (or third or fourth . . .) language, one he has learned after having already mastered the basics of his first language (Dulay et al. 10). We will here be concerned with some of the parallels between child first language acquisition and adult second language acquisition, and then with some of the factors that appear to influence only adult second language acquisition.

The obvious differences between first and second language acquisition would appear to preclude significant similarities: differences in the ages of the learners and in their levels of cognitive ability, in the environment in which learning takes place, in the kind of language which adults and native speakers would use in talking to children and to adult non-native learners, and in the fact that second language learners have already mastered one language. However, several research studies have shown that first and second language learners go through essentially the same stages in acquiring the target language, using parallel strategies and involving much the same processes (McLaughlin 65; see also 206-207 and Corder 146). Both first and second language learners make use of the creative construction process and learn systematically (Anderson 91), and for both the language of the environment is critical to acquisition (Krashen 49).

Because a learner acquires a language in a specific language environment, language acquisition must be examined in terms of the environment. Most children acquire their first language in a natural setting, interacting with their mothers or other caretakers in a continual attempt at fruitful communication (Krashen 102). For the first year or so of a child's life the mother does almost one hundred per cent of the talking or actual language production; the child, however, is not a passive listener: a normal child learning his first language listens

attentively, appears to understand, and responds to much of the language directed at him a good six months before he is ready to speak (Gary 190). In understanding or comprehending, the child takes in what he has heard, constructs an interpretation of it, and responds appropriately (Clark and Clark 298).

Once children do begin to speak, the order in which they learn certain morphological structures is systematic and appears to be fairly consistent among children, but the order does not correspond to the frequency with which these forms appear in the parents' speech or to any positive reinforcement parents may give their children for using correct forms (Dulay et al. 201; see also Clark and Clark 346). Nevertheless, the language a parent uses in speaking to his or her child is crucial to the child's acquisition of the language. His mother's speech not only provides the child with necessary information about his world but also with necessary information about the structures and functions of the language; her speech also reflects what and/or how much of what she says the child understands (Clark and Clark 320). Specifically, mothers talk about the here and now: they comment on what their children do, identify and describe objects and their properties, and discuss relations between objects (Clark and Clark 322).

In talking to their children, mothers adjust or modify their language in different ways. In terms of vocabulary, for example, they carefully choose words that they deem to be useful to the child, being careful to be neither too specific, e.g., calling a dog an Irish wolfhound, nor too general, e.g., calling the dog an animal (Clark and Clark 323). The mother's choice of vocabulary seems to be dictated by her determination that a particular word might be easy for her child to understand, useful in the child's own attempts to communicate, and easier to pronounce than others (Clark and Clark 322). Another way mothers modify their language is by omitting function words and word endings and by choosing nouns rather than pronouns in their effort to simplify their message (Clark and Clark 324). They speak more slowly than they would to fellow adults, often pausing; they make their sentences short and simple, using few coordinates and almost no subordinate or relative clauses, complements, or negative constructions; and they repeat often, using certain frames which supply slots for new vocabulary (Clark and Clark 326-327). Studies have shown that this language, however, remains consistently grammatical and well-formed (Freed 20; see also Corder 147).

That the child understand his mother and respond appropriately is the goal of her communication and of the modifications she makes in her language. In simplifying her language the mother, like any native speaker simplifying his language (Krashen 1; see also Corder 146 and

Freed 19), restricts her vocabulary and style, makes the grammar more regular in terms of morphology and "correspondence between content and expression," and avoids marked categories (Corder, note, 151). Simplification, then, involves "shifting, selecting, or modifying a code or register to render it perceptually or structurally 'simpler' " (Corder 148).

Adults speaking to children simplify their language in order to make sure that their children understand them (Clark and Clark 327). This "caretaker speech," as Stephen Krashen calls it (102), provides the child with a great deal of *intake*, which Krashen defines as *meaningful input*: language which is attended to and understood, which includes structures at and just beyond the child's current level of competence, and perhaps most important, language which is natural, i.e., used for the purpose of communication (102-104; see also 125-126). This intake provided by caretaker speech, with its focus on the here and now, furnishes the child with "extra-linguistic support that facilitates his comprehension" (Krashen 109) as well as with the "*propositional content* of one- and two-word utterances" (Clark and Clark 330). It also limits the setting in which children can begin working out "how ideas map onto language" (Clark and Clark 328). Krashen hypothesizes that caretaker speech supplies "crucial input" by providing the child with the amount and kind of language he can understand and process for acquisition (125).

What is crucial, then, in first language acquisition is the intake available to the child in a natural environment; it is an environment in which the focus is on communication. If we accept as given that first and second language acquirers go through essentially the same stages and use parallel strategies, and that these strategies involve similar processes, including the creative construction process (McLaughlin 66; see also 116-117), then we can say that intake will also be crucial for second language acquisition. And according to Krashen, it is in "intake-rich" environments that second language acquisition occurs (116). This acquisition for second language learners, as with child first language learners, not only involves creative construction but is systematic; for adults learning a second language there is a consistent order in which they learn morphological structures (Anderson 91) and syntax of the target language, though the order for adult second language learners is different from that of child first language learners (Anderson 91; see also Krashen 56-59).

Second language *acquisition* needs to be distinguished from second language *learning*: such a distinction, according to Earl Stevick, is "potentially the most fruitful concept for language teachers that has come out of the linguistic sciences" (28). Acquisition refers to a process which requires "meaningful interaction in the target language—natural

communication—in which speakers are not concerned with the form of their utterances but with the messages they are conveying and understanding" (Krashen 1). The process of acquisition, a subconscious one (Krashen 1), is the source for our "implicit" knowledge of language, that information about language which we have but which is unanalyzed (Bialystok 65). Learning, on the other hand, involves conscious formal knowledge of language, what "has been consciously abstracted from experience, concentrated on and corrected, grasped, and stored against future need" (Stevick 29). It is the source of our "explicit" knowledge of language, an "*analyzed* set of features which can be articulated, examined, and manipulated" (Bialystok 65). Stephen Krashen claims that the data he has examined suggest that it is primarily by means of acquisition, the subconscious process, that adults internalize a second language and gain communicative proficiency in it (77).

The quality of the language environment in which this acquisition takes place is of "paramount importance" (Dulay et al. 13). Dulay, Burt, and Krashen discuss four "macroenvironmental factors" which researchers have examined for their effects on second language acquisition. The first is the naturalness of the situation, one in which the focus is on communication, and, as a result, on content rather than on form (14-15). Such a situation may be an informal one or a formal one, such as a language classroom (Krashen 116). The key to acquisition appears to be not in the physical environment but in the naturalness of the environment: one in which communication is the primary concern (Dulay et al. 15).

A second macroenvironmental factor that Dulay et al. treat is the learner's role in this communication process; a learner may be involved in one-way, restricted two-way, and/or full two-way communication (20). In one-way communication the learner reads or listens, attending to the target language without overtly responding; he may read signs, directions, books, or magazines; or he may listen to speeches, sermons, conversations, radio programs; or he may watch films or television programs. What is important is that he be actively listening (21). In restricted two-way communication the listener overtly responds, but not in the target language; he may respond non-verbally or in his native language (21). In full two-way communication, as one would expect, the learner not only responds but produces his own attempts at communication in the target language (21). Recent research has indicated that for second language acquisition there are great benefits to be derived in "allowing one-way and restricted two-way communication during the early parts of the learning process" (21; see also Krashen 107-108 and Gary 185). This would permit an initial "silent period" for second language learners, paralleling the child first learner's months of

listening and responding to language directed to him before he can actually produce words or sentences. The duration of the "silent period" for second language learners might vary greatly.

According to Judith Gary, research has shown that adult second language learners who are "*not* required to speak immediately—though they *are allowed* to if they wish—make more significant gains in reading, writing, and speaking, as well as in listening comprehension, than students required to speak right away . . ." (185; see also Krashen 108). These second language learners were active listeners, "actively attempting to understand and respond effectively to oral communication carefully presented in a meaningful context" (Gary 186). Delayed speech may offer several advantages, according to Gary. Cognitively, the learner benefits from having to focus only on comprehending rather than on comprehending and producing simultaneously (190-191). Affectively, the learner is freed from the stress and embarrassment which frequently accompany having to produce language in the early stages of learning; such stress often reduces the learner's ability to concentrate (191). In terms of efficiency, "the learner can be exposed to much more of the target language in much less time" if he is not required to produce it, and hence can "absorb language much faster and more efficiently when not required to speak" (191). For purposes of utility or usefulness, the receptive skills of reading and listening comprehension are more necessary than the productive skills; a learner can speak using very restricted structures, but he cannot force other speakers (or writers) to restrict their language to his set of restricted structures (191).

The value of allowing language learners an initial "silent period" is predicated on certain assumptions. The first is that language itself is not speech but rather a set of principles which establish correlations between meaning and a certain sound sequence (Gary 192). Second, first or second language acquisition occurs by means of a process called creative construction by which the learner organizes what he hears according to rules which he then uses to produce his own sentences (Gary 192). Third, because speaking is a result rather than a cause of language learning, the learner needs to develop receptive skills before productive ones (Gary 192). And last, Gary assumes that effective listening comprehension will be "meaningful, challenging, require overt learner response, and provide immediate feedback . . ." (192).

Given these assumptions and the cognitive, affective, efficiency, and utility advantages identified by Judith Gary, there seems to be reason to believe that allowing the learner an initial "silent period" when he is allowed but not forced to speak not only causes no delay in his attaining proficiency in a second language but may, in fact, be of considerable benefit to him, providing he has been actively listening (Krashen 108).

The learning environment for the language learner, then, should be one in which the learner can be involved, initially, in one-way and restricted two-way communication, as is a child learning his first language, before he is forced to be a full participant in two-way communication.

A third macroenvironmental factor that Dulay et al. identify is the availability of concrete referents in the language environment to clarify meaning; these referents would refer to "subjects and events that can be seen, heard, or felt while the language is being used" (26). Mothers who provide concrete referents by adhering to the here and now principle when talking to their children furnish "crucial and necessary support" for their children faced with the task of learning language (Dulay et al. 27). Dulay et al. believe that older learners, like the younger ones, "would benefit from adherence to the here and now principle, especially in the early stages of instruction" (28). It is not that the older learners cannot cognitively cope with abstractions, but rather that concrete referents help in language learning by providing a context in which learners can figure out the meanings of the language they hear (Dulay et al. 28). Although adult second language learners do not need the same number and kind of concrete referents that young children learning a first language do, their language acquisition, especially in the early stages, would be improved by the provision of "environments rich in concrete referents" (Dulay et al. 29; see also Krashen 119-120).

A fourth macroenvironmental factor that affects language learning deals with the available models for the target language (Dulay et al. 29). For a young child the available model is his mother or other caretaker; his siblings and later his peers also provide models. For some adult second language learners the only model is the classroom teacher and perhaps some tapes; for others, such as individuals studying the language in the host country, there may be many models. Learners who have a choice prefer peers over teachers as models (Dulay et al. 29); young children will grow to prefer peers over parents and teachers (Dulay et al. 31). Those second language learners with many opportunities to hear the target language spoken by many different people have a great advantage over those learners whose experience with the target language is limited to a classroom teacher and perhaps tapes.

The language that the learner hears and uses for learning, whatever the source, must provide what Stephen Krashen calls "optimal input" (Scarcella and Higa 193). A child learns his first language in an informal environment in which he avails himself of this optimal input: intake which is sufficient in quantity, given in a non-threatening atmosphere, both attended to and understood by the learner, and at an appropriate level, i.e., just a little beyond the learner's current linguistic competence (Krashen in Scarcella and Higa 193). The child's active involvement with this input is necessary for acquisition.

An adult learning a second language needs this optimal input as well if he is to successfully acquire the target language. For first language acquirers (young children), optimal input is provided by mother talk or caretaker speech; for adult second language learners optimal input is provided by teacher talk or foreigner talk (Krashen 125; see also Corder 146). There are significant similarities between these two registers; both are "spoken slowly, are well-formed, and have limited vocabularies and short sentences" (Freed 19). Both mother talk and teacher talk are, according to S.P. Corder, "the simplified use of a fully complex code" (147). In speaking to adult second language learners, teachers or other native speakers of the target language use what Krashen calls "simple codes," language adjusted by the speaker for rate, lexicon, well-formedness, length, and propositional complexity (Krashen 129-130). It is part of every native speaker's competence that he can adjust his language appropriately for those listeners who have not yet mastered the language (Corder 146; see also Freed 19, Scarcella and Higa 175, and Krashen 121). This competence permits a native speaker to limit his lexicon, form his sentences more carefully, and use less complex propositions in addressing learners of his language without sacrificing meaning or grammaticality. Simple codes, then, are very similar to other talk; but there are differences, particularly with regard to function, according to Barbara Freed (23-25). While both registers are concerned with communication, mothers seem to be primarily interested in directing the child's behavior; teacher talk or foreigner talk focuses more on the exchange of information and the clarification of ideas (25). Krashen hypothesizes that, even though the ultimate purpose of mother talk and teacher talk may be different, the simple codes used by teachers and other native speakers in addressing learners of the target language are a "tremendous help" in the early stages of second language acquisition, perhaps as useful for second language learners as caretaker speech is for first language acquisition (131).

Although there are many ways in which first and second language acquisition are parallel, there are factors which appear to affect only second language acquisition. We need to look briefly at the effects of aptitude and attitude, of the socio-affective filter, and of the use the learner makes of his internal organizer and monitor in second language acquisition.

Both aptitude and attitude have been found to be related to adult second language acquisition, but not to each other (Krashen 5). Aptitude, according to John Carroll, deals with the rate of learning and involves a phonetic coding ability, i.e., the ability to store new language sounds in memory; grammatical sensitivity, which involves a "conscious meta-

awareness of grammar, of the syntactical patterning of sentences; and an 'inductive ability' by which a learner notices and identifies 'patterns, correspondences, and relationships involving meaning or grammatical form' " (Krashen 20). Krashen hypothesizes that both inductive ability and grammatical sensitivity "relate directly to, or reflect, conscious language learning . . ." (21). If this is so, then aptitude would be a better predictor of how much and how quickly an individual will *learn* rather than *acquire* a language, and might be fairly closely correlated with his success in a classroom where the emphasis is on learning correct grammatical structure rather than on communicative competence.

Attitude, on the other hand, seems to be more directly related to the second language learner's acquisition, his eventual proficiency in the target language (Krashen 36). Krashen believes that acquisition may be "central and obligatory for real proficiency in a second language" and that learning serves as a "useful supplement" to acquisition under certain conditions (38). If Krashen is right, and if attitude is more closely related to acquisition than to learning, then perhaps attitude is an extremely influential factor in second language acquisition (38; see also 110, Dulay et al. 70, and Cooper 133-135). What a positive attitude does is encourage the learner to seek out and take advantage of opportunities to use the language for real communication (Krashen 21). Several factors seem to account for this positive attitude. One is the motivating force behind the learner's desire to learn: integrative motivation is related to the learner's desire to be like some valued members of the target language community; instrumental motivation is related to the learner's desire to achieve proficiency in the target language for a specific practical or utilitarian purpose (Krashen 22). Another important factor is the personality of the learner: self-confidence, empathy, and an analytic orientation seem to be the personality factors that contribute most to language acquisition (Krashen 23-24).

The attitudinal factors that most directly relate to language acquisition, then, appear to be those which contribute to a low socio-affective filter, a mechanism described by Heidi Dulay and Marina Burt which is made up of the "learner's motives, needs, attitudes, and emotional states" (Dulay et al. 46). This filter screens out certain elements of the language environment; incoming language material, or input, must first get past this filter if it is to be processed by the learner for acquisition (Dulay et al. 45-46). The filter is critical because it determines "(1) which target language models the learner will select; (2) which parts of the language will be attended to first; (3) when language acquisition efforts should cease; and (4) how fast a learner will acquire a language" (Dulay et al. 46). A learner with a high filter will acquire less of the language directed to him because the filter will allow less of the input in for further

processing (Krashen 110). The learner with a low filter will allow more data in to be processed and will acquire the language at a more rapid rate and with more proficiency (Krashen 22).

The filter is the first of three "processors" used by learners in acquiring a second language. The second is the organizer, a cognitive "device" which works subconsciously to gradually organize the input for acquisition (Dulay et al. 4). The organizer appears to me to reflect the learner's use of the creative construction process, a process involved in all language acquisition. For a second language learner, however, the workings of the organizer can be seen in "(1) the systematic progression of changes in transitional constructions that learners use before a structure is finally acquired; (2) the errors that systematically occur in learner speech; and (3) the common order in which mature structures are learned" (Dulay et al. 54). Before the actual operation of this organizer can be described, Dulay et al. suggest that there needs to be a clearer understanding of the distinctions between linguistic and learning complexity, with more emphasis on the role of learning rather than linguistic complexity in second language acquisition (58).

The last processor is the monitor, Stephen Krashen's term for a device which consciously processes linguistic data according to what the learner knows about language structure and rules (Dulay et al. 58). The value of this device, according to Krashen, is in its availability to the learner as an editor, or monitor, rather than as a device for acquisition (2). The source of the monitor is hypothesized to lie in what Piaget called "formal operations," a stage in learning which involves the individual's ability to use words to identify and manipulate relationships between ideas which are removed from concrete referents; the "formal thinker. . . has a meta-awareness of his ideas and can use abstract rules to solve . . . problems . . . It is thus plausible that the ability to use a conscious grammar . . . comes as a result of formal operations" (Krashen 35). If so, then the individual who can handle formal operations is able to make conscious observations and generalizations about language. This ability, however, will not necessarily help the individual to acquire a target language; research indicates that this conscious linguistic knowledge is independent of the subconscious system a learner builds up as he acquires a language (Dulay et al. 59-60), and it is by means of the subconscious system that language is acquired (Krashen 77).

The fact that the monitor exists as a processor does not ensure that the learner will avail himself of it or use it appropriately. The degree to which the learner uses his monitor depends on several variables: the age or level of cognitive development of the learner, the kind of verbal task being required, and the personality of the learner (Dulay et al. 73). For the learner to be able to use his monitor effectively, he should be able to

employ formal operations in his thinking; most children reach this stage at about puberty (Seliger 5; see also Krashen 34-35). The task itself, to involve use of the monitor, should focus on form, structural correctness, rather than on the content of the message (Dulay et al. 72). And in order to put his monitor to work, the learner not only must have a conscious knowledge of a rule and be in a situation which enables or forces him to focus on the form or correctness of the language, but he must also have *time*, the opportunity, to edit or correct his language (Krashen 3). Given the existence of these conditions, the third variable, the user's personality, accounts for variation in the extent to which the learner will use his monitor.

Krashen identifies three types of monitor users: overusers, underusers, and optimal users (4). The monitor overuser believes that before he can speak he must know the rule (for whatever structure it is that he wants to use); he "refers to his conscious grammar all the time when using his second language" (15). As a result, his speech is hesitant and he is often unable to speak for purposes of communication in the target language (15-16). But this same overuser often writes well when provided with ample time to edit or monitor his writing (15). The overuser is frequently a self-conscious, introverted individual (17). The monitor underuser, on the other hand, rarely uses conscious linguistic knowledge when performing in the second language (16). His performance indicates little knowledge of and/or application of rules, but he often commands "impressive amounts of the target language" even though he knows little grammar or pays scant attention to any rules he may know (17). The underuser is frequently an outgoing, friendly, relatively uninhibited individual (17) who does not seem to be at all bothered by the mistakes, and they may be many, that he makes as long as he is understood by his listener. The optimal monitor user utilizes what he has learned about the language as a supplement to what he has acquired; he monitors in appropriate situations, making sure his monitoring does not impede his communication (5).

If, then, we define language acquisition as a process involving interaction between an individual and his language environment, a process in which the individual uses creative construction to order what he hears for comprehension and production, then we can assert that there are significant parallels between a child learning his first language and an adult learning a second language. The parallels can be seen when we look at the naturalness of the environment or situation in which the language is acquired and in the nature of the intake provided for the learner. For the adult second language learner, however, who has cognitive skills far beyond those of the young child and who has already mastered one language system, there are factors which appear to be

unique to second language acquisition. These are aptitude and attitude and the use of the three "processors" which the learner uses in acquiring a second language: the socio-affective filter, the organizer, and the monitor. This last processor requires relatively sophisticated cognitive skills and, according to Stephen Krashen, can be used only consciously for *learning* as opposed to *acquiring* a second language (2).

Children acquire their native language and adults acquire a second language subconsciously, by "obtaining comprehensible input, by listening to . . . and understanding the message in language that contains structures 'a bit beyond' [their] current competence" (Krashen, Scarcella, and Long, Some Explanations, 173). But for the adult second language learner, his "opportunity and incentive to learn" may be the most powerful forces in determining whether and to what extent he will acquire a second language (Corder 132). When there is little incentive or opportunity, psychological factors such as aptitude, attitude, cognitive style and personality are likely to be important; but when opportunity and incentive are high, these same psychological variables might help explain differences in the speed at which different individuals learn but not whether or not the individual will learn a second language (Cooper 133).

In studies of second language learners, researchers have observed that "very often successful language acquisition or language learning is the outcome, rather than the cause, of finding a job or of making friend, or of being in some way *compelled to interact* in a setting where one has no choice but to use the target language" (Tucker 31). Stephen Krashen agrees. He predicted that the "good language learner" will be first an acquirer who is able to get sufficient intake in the target language and who has a low socio-affective filter which allows him to use the intake for language acquisition (37). Intake is related to if not determined by opportunity, and the socio-affective filter is closely related to such factors as motivation and incentive. Krashen claims that data support his prediction about the good language learner; good language learners themselves explained their success with the second language in terms of "immersion and motivation" (37). If this is so, then adult second language acquirers will learn best when they have both the motivation and the opportunity to learn in as natural an environment as possible, one in which the focus is on communicating—comprehension and production—in the target language.

REFERENCES

Anderson, Janet I. "Order of Difficulty in Adult Second Language Acquisition." *Second Language Acquisition Research: Issues and Implications.* Ed. William C. Ritchie. New York: Academic Press, 1978. 91-108.

Bialystok, Ellen. "Some Evidence for the Integrity and Interaction of Two Knowledge Sources." *New Dimensions in Second Language Acquisition Research.* Ed. Roger W. Andersen. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1981. 62-74.

Clark, Herbert H. and Eve V. Clark. *Psychology and Language: An Introduction to Psycholinguistics.* New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977.

Cooper, Robert L. "Language Spread as a Perspective for the Study of Second Language Acquisition." *New Dimensions in Second Language Acquisition Research.* Ed. Roger W. Andersen. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1981. 130-145.

Corder, S.P. "Formal Simplicity and Functional Simplification in Second Language Acquisition." *New Dimensions in Second Language Acquisition Research.* Ed. Roger W. Andersen. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1981. 146-152.

Dulay, Heidi, Marina Burt, and Stephen Krashen. *Language Two.* New York: Oxford U. Press, 1982.

Freed, Barbara. "Talking to Foreigners versus Talking to Children: Similarities and Differences." *Research in Second Language Acquisition: Selected Papers of the Los Angeles Second Language Acquisition Research Forum.* Eds. Robin C. Scarcella and Stephen D. Krashen. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1980. 19-29.

Gary, Judith Olmstead. "Why Speak if You Don't Need to? The Case for a Listening Approach to Beginning Foreign Language Learning." *Second Language Acquisition Research: Issues and Implications.* Ed. William C. Ritchie. New York: Academic Press, 1978. 185-199.

Krashen, Stephen D. *Second Language Acquisition and Second Language Learning.* New York: Pergamon Press, 1981.

Krashen, Stephen D., Robin C. Scarcella and Michael H. Long. *Child-Adult Differences in Second Language Acquisition.* Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1982. Some Explanations. 173-174.

McLaughlin, Barry. *Second Language Acquisition in Childhood.* Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1978.

Scarcella, R. and C. Higa. "Input and Age Differences in Second Language Acquisition." *Child-Adult Differences in Second Language Acquisition.* Eds. Stephen D. Krashen, Robin C. Scarcella and Michael H. Long. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1982. 175-201.

Seliger, Herbert W. "Exceptions to Critical Period Predictions: A Sinister Plot." *New Dimensions in Second Language Acquisition Research.* Ed. Roger W. Andersen. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1981. 47-57.

Stevick, Earl. "The Levertov Machine." *Research in Second Language Acquisition: Selected Papers of the Los Angeles Second Language Acquisition Research Forum.* Eds. Robin C. Scarcella and Stephen D. Krashen. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1980. 28-35.

Tucker, G. Richard. Discussion of "Research on the Measurement of Affective Variables: Some Remaining Questions" by John W. Oller, Jr. *New Dimensions in Second Language Acquisition Research.* Ed. Roger W. Andersen. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1981. 28-32.

Salted and Unsalted Snacks: Taste Preference of Second Grade Students in a Rural Area School

by Angela Scott

Sodium chloride is an essential part of the human diet; however, in our society, salt is consumed in excess of sodium needs. The average person in the United States consumes approximately 10-12 gm. of salt (3,900-4,700 mg. sodium) per day, which is more than 20 times the presumed requirement for sodium (1).

Many processed foods contain salt, which makes it difficult to avoid. Although this is true, it does not explain the high levels of consumption. The sensory pleasure derived from the taste of salt is important (2). Individuals add salt from the salt shaker to enhance the flavor of their foods. Salt in processed foods is often added to increase the palatability of those foods. People like the taste of salty food better than the taste of the same food without salt (2).

Human infants can detect salt solutions at birth, but there is no evidence that the infants exhibit a preference for salt in solution. The issue of whether a preference by newborn infants for salt in foods remains to be resolved (2).

Little work exists on salt preference in children more than a few days old. Studies indicate no preference for salted infant food over unsalted infant food (1, 2, 3). Salt added to baby foods was added to satisfy the palate of the mother rather than the infant. Thus, it seems that the acquired taste for salt on foods is passed from one generation to another.

The relation of high salt intake to hypertension resulted in the discontinuance of added salt in baby foods (1). The infants did not need the added salt. Introducing the infants to this new taste may be detrimental to their future life.

Hypertension, heart failure, coronary disease, and stroke are very rarely seen in children. However, evidence shows that infancy and childhood may be appropriate times to consider measures for the prevention of hypertension later in life.

Blood pressure is much lower in infants than in children or adults. There is a gradual increase in pressure throughout life. It is found that there are cultures where blood pressure does not increase beyond childhood. This has convinced many investigators that the rise with age should not be considered normal or physiologic (4, 5).

As many as 60 million Americans have hypertension and are limiting their salt intake (3). Today, almost every food category has some food

products in the no-salt or low-salt segment. Americans are a more "health-conscious" society and are now able to benefit from these new products, though some unsalted forms are not as readily accepted as the salted forms.

Snack foods are an integral component of most American's daily food intake, costing almost 4 billion dollars in shipment value (6). Potato chips are the volume leader in the snack food category (7). The Potato Chip/Snack Food Association has reported that the market for snacks without salt is small. Consumers complain that the reduced salt versions of familiar products are bland in comparison to the original (8). Concern about sodium in the diet may cause consumers to buy the unsalted snack in place of the salted form, though they may prefer the salted. This study was done to examine the levels of preference of second grade students for salted or unsalted forms of potato chips, pretzels, and peanuts.

Salted and unsalted forms of potato chips, pretzels, and dry roasted peanuts were purchased from a local supermarket. Fresh samples of each product were used at each of the three testing sessions.

The potato chips were a popular brand found in aluminum protected bags. The salted chips contained 141 mg. of sodium per one ounce serving and the unsalted form had 6 mg. of sodium per one ounce serving.

Pretzels of any one brand were not available in both the salted and unsalted forms, so comparable products had to be used. Both pretzels looked the same, except visible salt was on one product. The salted pretzel had 1010 mg. of sodium per one ounce serving and the unsalted pretzel had 5 mg. of sodium per one ounce serving.

The dry-roasted peanuts were also a popular brand. The salted nuts had 150 mg. of sodium per one ounce serving and the unsalted nuts had 10 mg. per one ounce serving.

Before testing began, visual and verbal instructions were given to 24 second grade students in a rural school. The class consisted of 14 girls and 10 boys. A 5-point facial hedonic score sheet and a plate with a large triangle and square were placed on each child's desk. The triangle and square shapes were also on the score sheet signifying which row should be marked. A facial hedonic scale was drawn on the board and each face was explained as to what each signified. A triangle and square were drawn and explained as to their relationship to the scale. It was explained that the food on the triangle was to be tasted and marked on the scale that had the triangle beside it. The food that was on the square was to be tasted and marked on the scale that had the square beside it.

Not all students were present each day, but at least twenty were present for each test. All were healthy children who showed much enthusiasm and followed instructions carefully.

The children were presented with a sample of the salted and unsalted form of each product. The products were placed on the coded plate. The order in which the samples were presented varied in each replication and was determined through use of a table of random numbers (9). Room-temperature water was used to rinse their mouths after each sample. After instructions were given, each sample was tasted and rated for preference on a 5-point facial hedonic scale. Replications were done on the same day of each week and the time of day for three weeks. The time was two hours after they had finished their lunch.

This study demonstrated the preference for salted potato chips, pretzels, and peanuts over the unsalted forms of these products. The combined mean scores for all products showed a higher rating for the salted products (Table 1). In addition, each salted product received a higher rating than the unsalted products. The rating for potato chips showed the smallest difference of .89, and the rating for pretzels showed the largest difference of 1.01.

Responses, calculated as percentages, are presented in Table 2. The combined percentages showed a definite preference for salted potato chips, pretzels, and peanuts, compared to the unsalted forms. No ratings corresponding to the "dislike very much" descripter were given to any of the salted products. The scores of the potato chips showed the least difference in acceptability of the salted and unsalted forms. The unsalted potato chips were rated more acceptable than the unsalted peanuts or pretzels. Unsalted pretzels were rated less acceptable than the unsalted potato chips or peanuts.

The products may have been rated accordingly because the unsalted pretzels lacked the visible salt, which was not as evident on the potato chips or peanuts. Salted pretzels also have much more salt than the potato chips or peanuts; therefore, the unsalted pretzels had a bland flavor.

It appears that between the ages of infancy and six or seven there was a definite increase in liking salt. At the second grade level children preferred the mock products which contained added salt. The children also perhaps have not had access to unsalted versions of the mock foods used in this study, but it might be worthwhile for families to acquaint their young children to the unsalted mock foods.

Table 1. Mean scores for salted and unsalted food products. n = 424

Group	Salted	Unsalted
combined products	4.72	3.75
potato chips	4.79	3.90
peanuts	4.80	3.80
pretzels	4.55	3.54

Table 2. Percent of respondents to salted and unsalted food products.* n = 424

Product	Ratings				
	1	2	3	4	5
combined products					
salted	-	.9	4.3	17.1	77.7
unsalted	8.9	5.2	25.8	22.1	38.0
potato chips					
salted	-	-	4.2	17.7	83.1
unsalted	5.8	4.3	26.1	21.7	42.0
peanuts					
salted	-	1.4	-	14.5	84.1
unsalted	9.7	2.8	23.6	23.6	40.3
pretzels					
salted	-	1.4	8.5	23.9	66.2
unsalted	11.1	8.3	27.8	20.8	31.9

* Scores from 5-point facial hedonic scale. For preference, 1 = "dislike very much," 3 = "average," 5 = "like very much."

REFERENCES

(1) Anon. 1980. Dietary salt. A scientific status summary by the Institute of Food Technologist expert panel on food safety and nutrition and the committee on public information. Food Technol. 34(1):85-91.

(2) Beauchampt, K., Bertino, M., and Moran, M. 1982. Sodium regulation: Sensory aspects. J. Am. Diet. Assoc. 80(1):40-44.

(3) Fomen, S.J., Thomas, L.N., and Filer, L.J., Jr. 1970. Acceptance of unsalted strained foods by normal infants. J. Pediatr. 76(4):242-244.

(4) Ellison, R., Newburger, W., and Gross, M. 1982. Pediatric aspects of essential hypertension. J. Am. Diet. Assoc. 80(1):21-24.

(5) Prior, A.M., Evans, J., Grimley, H., Davidson, F., and Lindsey, M. 1968. Sodium intake and blood pressure in two Polynesian populations. N. Engl. J. Med. 279(1):515-520.

(6) Analysis of snacks. 1980. Food Engineering. 52(8):83.

(7) Anon. 1983. State of the food industry. Food Engineering. 54(8):72-93.

(8) Nolan, A.L. 1984. Low-salt: will it sell? Food Engineering. 56(5):109.

(9) Downie, N.M., and Heath, R.W. 1965. Basic Statistical Methods. Second edition. Harper & Row. New York.

Acceptance by High School Students of Muffins Containing Supplemental Soy Polysaccharides

by Nancy Fuqua

Diverticular disease of the colon is one of the degenerative diseases which is linked to low consumption of fiber and is shown to have a higher incidence in economically developed Western countries (1). A Western diet is characterized by low fiber refined cereal grains and an inadequate intake of fruits and vegetables, both of which reduces fiber intake (2). Conversely, low incidence of diverticular disease are among vegetarians in developing countries who consume high amounts of fiber. It has been recommended by The National Academy of Science and The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services that Americans increase their fiber intake due to its many advantages (3).

Studies have found a large increase in primary and decrease in secondary fecal steroids could be attributed to a diet sufficient in fiber. Such changes can possibly prevent arteriosclerosis and cancer of the colon (4). Advantages of supplementation of fiber have been commercially recognized. Many baked products have been improved by the addition of fiber. Studies and findings of Shafer and Zabik found different fiber sources alter properties of food products (5). This study was undertaken to examine consumer acceptance which contained different levels of a nutritional supplement containing soy polysaccharides. Vitamins and minerals in the nutritional supplement with fiber compared to Recommended Dietary Allowances for adults and children aged 4 years and older are shown on Table 1 (3).

Three samples of muffins with different fiber supplement levels were used in this project. There is a 5 g. soy polysaccharides in 238 ml. of nutritional supplement. The basic muffin formula consisted of 454 g. sifted flour, 238 ml. milk, 9 g. baking powder, 28 g. sugar, 2 g. salt, 100 g. egg, and 112 g. of fat.

Sample one was the basic formula which served as the control. The second sample contained 238 ml. nutritional supplement in place of the 238 ml. of milk. The dry and liquid ingredients were mixed separately and then combined according to the Muffin Method of mixing (6). A fork was used to combine ingredients, enough to moisten the dry ingredients. The batter was then distributed into standard size 12 count muffin tins. The muffins were baked at 193°C on the center rack in a conventional oven for 20 minutes. The muffins were removed from the tins and placed on racks. The muffins were wrapped in aluminum foil for later testing

on the same day.

The taste panel consisted of 23 senior high school students who were verbally instructed in tasting and rating the sample during a pre-test session. The samples were coded by random numbers through the use of a table of random numbers (7). The muffins were presented in a different order during three test periods on three different days. After tasting each sample, each participant rated the sample on a 7-point hedonic scale for the five characteristics of color, texture, moisture, flavor, and overall acceptability. The phrases used in the 7-point hedonic scale were excellent, good, above average, average, below average, poor, and unacceptable.

Muffins containing different amounts of nutritional supplement were compared on five characteristics of color, texture, moisture, flavor, and overall acceptability. All characteristics were rated at least to be "average" (Table 2). The muffins containing 238 ml. of nutritional supplement with fiber scored higher in color, texture, moisture, and overall acceptability. The muffins containing 119 ml. of nutritional supplement with fiber were rated highest of the three products in flavor but lowest for color and texture. However, the control muffins were judged lower in flavor and overall acceptability when compared to the other two products. The range of mean score of muffins were very close (Table 2). The three products varied only one tenth of a point. It seems the fiber supplement muffins could be utilized as well as those muffins containing no fiber. This may be used in schools for students who might need supplemental fiber.

REFERENCES

1. Ohi, G., Minowa, K., Oyama, T., Nagahashi, M., Yamazaki, N., Yamamoto, S., Nagasako, K., Hayakawa, K., Kimura, K., Mori, B. 1983. Changes in dietary fiber among Japanese in the 20th century: a relationship to the prevalence of diverticular disease. Am. J. Clin. Nutr. 38(2):115-121.
2. Johnson, C.K., Kolasa, K., Chenoweth, W., Bennink, M. 1980. Health, laxation, and food habit influences on fiber intake of older women. J. Am. Diet. Assoc. 77(3):551-556.
3. Ross Laboratories. 1983. Enrich Liquid Nutrition With Fiber. Ross Laboratories. Columbus, Ohio.
4. Ullrich, I.H., Lai, H., Vona, L., Reid, R.L., Albrink, M.J. 1981. Alterations of fecal steroid composition induced by changes in dietary fiber consumption. Am. J. Clin. Nutr. 34(2):2054-2060.
5. Polizzoto, L.M., Tinsley, A.M., Weber, C.W., Berry, J.W. 1983. Dietary fiber in Muffins. J. Food Sci. 48(1):111-113.
6. Peckham, G.C., Freeland-Graves, J.H. 1979. Foundations of Food Preparation. 4th ed. Macmillan Publishing Co. New York.
7. Downie, N.M., Heath, R.W. 1965. Basic Statistical Methods. 2nd ed. Harper and Row. New York.

Table 1.
Vitamins and Minerals in Nutritional Supplement With Fiber Compared With Recommended Daily Allowances (RDA's) for Adults and Children 4 years and older.

	Per 8 fl oz	
	Contents	% US RDA
Vitamins		
Vitamin A (IU)	850	17
Vitamin D (IU)	68	17
Vitamin E (IU)	7.5	25
Vitamin K (mcg)	12	*
Vitamin C (mg)	30	50
Folic acid (mcg)	100	25
Thiamin (mg)	0.38	25
Riboflavin (mg)	0.43	25
Vitamin B_6 (mg)	0.50	25
Vitamin B_{12} (mcg)	1.5	25
Niacin (mg)	5.0	25
Choline (g)	0.13	*
Biotin (mcg)	75	25
Pantothenic acid (mg)	2.5	25
Minerals		
Sodium (mg)	200	1100-3300+
Potassium (mg)	370	1875-5625+
Chloride (mg)	340	1700-5100+
Phosphorus (g)	0.17	17
Magnesium (mg)	68	17
Iodine (mcg)	26	17
Manganese (mg)	0.83	*
Copper (mg)	0.34	17
Zinc (mg)	3.8	25
Iron (mg)	3.1	17

* US RDA not established
+ Estimated Safe and Adequate Daily Dietary Intake for Adults.

Table 2.
Mean scores for muffins containing different levels of fiber supplement as rated by high school students.* n=69

Product Characteristic	Control	119 ml	238 ml
Color	5.10	5.06	5.18
Texture	4.55	4.46	4.56
Moisture	4.24	4.44	4.56
Flavor	4.49	4.64	4.59
Overall Acceptability	4.30	4.39	4.44

* Scores from 7-point hedonic scale. For preference, 1 = "unacceptable," 2 = "poor," 3 = "below average," 4 = "average," 5 = "above average," 6 = "good," and 7 = "excellent."

Preference Levels of High School Freshmen for Four Cheese Food Products

by Glee Onna Mans

There is a high demand for cheese in this country and since the natural cheese process is expensive (1), there is a need for an economical, acceptable processed cheese. American preference is for cheese with mild flavors and smooth consistencies which is an unnatural combination in cheesemaking (2). The dairy industry has accordingly developed a wide variety of processed cheese foods.

Pasteurized process cheese food is the food prepared by combining and mixing, with the aid of heat, of one or more optional cheese ingredients into a homogeneous plastic mass (2). Some American varieties include American pasteurized process cheese food, American flavored pasteurized cheese product which is low fat, American flavored imitation pasteurized process cheese food which is made with corn oil, and pasteurized process American cheese substitute which is made with soybean and cottonseed oils. The purpose of this study was to compare the color, flavor, texture, and overall acceptability of these four types of processed American cheese foods.

An adequate supply of a process cheese food, a low fat cheese product, an imitation cheese food made from corn oil, and a cheese substitute made from soybean and cottonseed oils for the entire experimentation period was obtained from a local supermarket. Two hours before the evaluation sessions the products were removed from refrigeration and divided into 2.6 gram samples. The samples were placed on pre-labeled plates with code numbers obtained from a table of random numbers (3) and covered with film wrap until the time of evaluation.

The four samples of cheese were rated by 24 female freshman high school home economics students over three replications. In each replication, students were instructed with verbal and written instructions for sensory evaluations and rating the samples. The students tasted the samples one at a time, rinsing their mouths with room temperature water after each sample. The order in which the samples appeared on the plate was varied with each replication as determined by use of a table of random numbers (3). The cheese samples were rated on a seven point hedonic scale for the following characteristics: color, flavor, texture, and overall acceptability.

The low fat cheese product received the best scores for all characteristics except flavor (Table 1). The mean scores for all characteristics

ranged between above average and good.

The imitation cheese product made from corn oil received the worst scores for all characteristics except flavor (Table 1). The mean scores ranged from good to below average.

The processed cheese food received the best score for flavor and the cheese substitute made from soybean and cottonseed oils received the worst score for flavor (Table 1).

The mean scores showed the processed cheese food and low fat cheese product to be above average in all characteristics. The imitation cheese food and cheese substitute scored considerably lower in every characteristic except color and were found to have scored between above average and below average (Table 1). These results suggest that while the processed cheese food and the low fat cheese product were preferred by the students, the imitation cheese and the cheese substitute products were near average in overall acceptability.

These results indicate a need to further examine various cheese food products with different groups of consumers. The experimentation may uncover specific preferences for variety of cheese food products. This may, in turn, help in better menuing of these products for groups of consumers.

REFERENCES

(1) Yang, C.T.S., Taranto, M.V. 1982. Textural properties of mozzarella cheese analogs manufactured from soybeans. J. Food Sci. 47(5):906-910.

(2) Kinder, F., Green, N.R. 1978. Meal Management. 5th ed. Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc. New York.

(3) Downie, N.M., Heath, R.W. 1965. Basic Statistical Methods. 2nd. Harper and Row. New York.

TABLE 1. Mean scores for characteristics of cheese products as rated by freshman home economics high school students n = 69

	A*	B*	C*	D*
COLOR	2.51	2.35	2.81	2.67
FLAVOR	2.38	2.44	3.98	4.22
TEXTURE	2.62	2.38	4.06	3.94
OVERALL ACCEPT-ABILITY	2.46	2.33	4.10	4.04

VALUES FOR HEDONIC SCALE: 1 = excellent, 2 = good, 3 = above average, 4 = average, 5 = below average, 6 = poor, 7 = unacceptable.

* A = process cheese food
B = low fat cheese product
C = imitation cheese product made from corn oil
D = cheese substitute made from soybean and cottonseed oils

Consumer Acceptance of UHT Chocolate Lowfat Milk

by Pam Denney

A new form of milk, the ultrapasteurized UHT extended shelf-life milk is now available to the consumer in many market areas. Flavors available in the UHT milk include skim, whole, and chocolate lowfat. To obtain the extended shelf-life the milk is processed at an Ultra High Temperature (UHT), and packaged in a foil lined Tetra pak to protect the flavor and sterility without using preservatives (3). Before opening the package, the milk may be kept unrefrigerated. After opening, the product must be refrigerated, and has a shelf life up to twenty-one days (3). This new process of pasteurizing milk has both its advantages and disadvantages to the dairies and consumers.

The advantages to dairymen are cost savings to dairies by allowing longer production runs, fewer, but larger deliveries to supermarkets, and added savings from fewer returns (3). Gaining consumer acceptance will be difficult. Much of the American public will be hesitant to buy milk in any other form than what they are accustomed to, especially if it is stored on the non-refrigerated grocery shelf (4). For this reason many stores display the UHT milk next to the refrigerated milk.

For consumers, the UHT milk stays fresh longer and allows for fewer, but larger milk purchases. Since it does not require refrigeration, it can be handled as many styles of foods and need not be limited to home refrigerated use.

The purpose of this study was to compare the acceptability of UHT chocolate lowfat milk and chocolate lowfat milk.

Enough UHT chocolate lowfat milk and chocolate lowfat milk was purchased from a local supermarket to provide samples for 125 college students. The milks were from the same processor and each type of milk was from the same processing batch.

Three samples of two ounces of 43°F (8°C) chocolate lowfat milk were tasted by 65 men and 60 women college students. Two of the samples were the same chocolate lowfat milk, and the third sample was the UHT chocolate lowfat milk. Students were trained by verbal and written instructions.

Students tasted the samples one at a time, rating each sample for color, consistency, flavor, and overall acceptance. The milks were scored using a seven-point hedonic scale. The order in which the samples were presented and tested was varied as determined through the use of a table of random numbers (2).

Testing was undertaken on two separate days from 2:30 to 4:30 p.m. Sampling took place in a college dormitory for females on one day, and in a dormitory for males on another day. The samples were tested by students who had not eaten for at least one half hour, and who had indicated that they liked milk.

When all the data were combined for all students, the biggest difference between chocolate lowfat milk and UHT chocolate lowfat milk ratings was seen in color where chocolate lowfat was 4.7, and UHT was 3.9 (Table 1). Smaller differences were seen in consistency where chocolate lowfat was 4.5, and UHT was 4.0, and in overall acceptance also where chocolate lowfat was 4.5, and UHT was 4.0. The lowest difference was noticed in the characteristic of flavor where chocolate lowfat was 4.4, and UHT was 4.0.

However, when these data were examined separately by the responses of men and women college students, the overall rating for color showed the biggest difference. While men scored flavor for chocolate lowfat as 4.6, and UHT as 3.9, women scored them as 4.2 and 4.0, respectively. Smaller differences were seen in consistency and overall acceptance. Men scored the consistency for chocolate lowfat as 4.6, and UHT as 4.0, while women scored the chocolate lowfat consistency as 4.3, and UHT as 3.9. Men scored the overall acceptance for chocolate lowfat as 4.6, and UHT as 4.2, while women scored the chocolate lowfat as 4.4, and the UHT as 3.8. The smallest difference was seen in color where men scored the chocolate lowfat as 4.8, and the UHT as 3.9. Women scored the color for chocolate lowfat as 4.7, and UHT as 4.0.

From the results of this study, it seems that where color and flavor are important factors, the UHT chocolate lowfat milk would not be completely acceptable for men. For women, where color is an important factor, the UHT chocolate lowfat milk would not be completely acceptable. This information could be of value to University Food Services Directors in fitting the new UHT milk into menus to serve specific segments of the university community.

REFERENCES

1. Bassette, R., Fung, D., Roberts, H., Ward, G. 1982. A survey of milk flavor and quality. J. of Food Prot. 45(2):135-138.
2. Downie, N.M., and Heath, R.W. 1965. Basic Statistical Methods. 2nd ed. Harper and Row. New York.
3. Anon. 1980. 'Extended' shelf life packaging. Food Engineering. 55(12):65-66.
4. Anon. 1980. Analysis of dairy products. Food Engineering. 52(8):73.
5. Sprowl, D.J., and Ehrcke, L.A. 1984. Sweetners: consumer acceptance in tea. J. Am. Diet. Assoc. 84(9):1020-1022.

Table 1. Mean scores of chocolate, lowfat milk and UHT chocolate lowfat milk as rated by college students.*

	ALL STUDENTS n=125		MEN n=65		WOMEN n=60	
	Choc. Lowfat	UHT	Choc. Lowfat	UHT	Choc. Lowfat	UHT
COLOR	4.7	3.9	4.8	3.9	4.7	4.0
CONSISTENCY	4.5	4.0	4.6	4.0	4.3	3.9
FLAVOR	4.4	4.0	4.6	3.9	4.2	4.0
OVERALL ACCEPTANCE	4.5	4.0	4.6	4.2	4.4	3.8

*Scores from 7-point hedonic scales, 7 = "totally excellent," 4 = "average product," and 1 = "totally unacceptable."

Jacques-Louis David: "Raphael of the Sansculottes"

by Carla Harris

In the evaluation of art since classic times, two main concepts of its value have prevailed. Supporters of one viewpoint assert that art is mainly a method of conveying aesthetic pleasure to the viewer; the other group argues that art should be a useful educational tool for religious or secular ideas (Leith 3). In late eighteenth-century France, the latter concept of art grew in popularity, culminating in the propagandistic art of the Revolution. The chief propagandist of this period was the artist Jacques-Louis David. Although he had painted before the Revolution and continued to work after this era, "his powers as an artist had not fully developed before and declined after this period" (Rosenau 73). The art of Jacques-Louis David was quite clearly shaped and sometimes sublimated by his changing political beliefs.

David, born in 1748, began his artistic training in the popular style of the mid-eighteenth century, the rococo (Honour and Fleming 477). After the death of his father in a duel, he was cared for by his uncle, who sent him as a pupil to Boucher, a prominent rococo master (Rosenau 17). The rococo tradition had first developed in France, when in 1698, Louis XIV—the powerful "Sun King"—had commissioned "light-hearted and 'youthful' " paintings (Honour and Fleming 460). Opposing the more austere curriculum of the Academy (Honour and Fleming 463), rococo was based on a desire for freedom from restrictions. Louis XIV used this style to typify his regime. Unfortunately, Louis XIV's successors were unable to maintain a strong autocracy; Louis XV was intelligent but not dynamic and was too spineless to rule well (Leith 70-71). Louis XV did not attempt to turn art into an instrument to glorify his reign (Leith 71). In the 1750s France reacted against rococo, with Jean-Jacques Rousseau, one of its strongest critics, demanding "a didactic art" to immortalize "'men who have defended their country or . . . enriched it by their genius' " (Honour and Fleming 475). Rousseau's comments well summarized a fairly widespread revulsion against contemporary taste (Leith 10). In fact, this "delicate, sensual and often capricious" style did not gain the name rococo—which means a "frivolous confection of shells and shell-like forms"—until the revolutionary period, when it was dismissed as an attempt "to satisfy the whims of a dissipated upper class" (Honour and Fleming 460).

On the recommendation of Boucher, David was sent to study painting with Joseph-Marie Vien, "at that time the most famous history painter

and teacher" in France (Founders Society 358). In 1770 David competed unsuccessfully for the Prix de Rome, a coveted award; he failed again in the next three successive contests (Founders Society 358). Although he won the Rome Prize in 1774, he remained bitter over his losses, and his attitude towards the Academy, which selected the winner, was affected adversely by this bitterness (Founders Society 358). Vien had been named the Director of the French School at Rome not long before David came to study with him, and on October 21, 1775, he and David, his favorite pupil, began their journey there (Dowd 8-9). The Italian masterpieces he saw on the trip "began to undermine David's confidence in the French School," and once in Rome itself, David was immeasurably impressed by the ruins of the ancient city (Dowd 9). The cosmopolitan art colony at Rome, led by two Germans, Johann Jakeb Winckelmann, an archaeologist, and Raphael Mengs, a painter, had stimulated a new interest in classical antiquity (Dowd 4-5). Winckelmann, in particular, attributed to it " 'noble simplicity and calm grandeur' " (Honour and Fleming 476). He gave purpose to the increasing reaction against rococo (Honour and Fleming 476). Schooled in classical literature, the philosophes and the revolutionaries understood the moral implications of such art (Leith 16), and through the artists' colony at Rome and the French Academy there, these implications reached and influenced French artists (Dowd 5).

While in Rome, David "underwent a[n] . . . artistic . . . conversion" (Honour and Fleming 476). He was already growing tired of the sentimental rococo style in which he had begun and which was "alien to . . . [his] personal inclinations" (Rosenau 49). The reaction against rococo paved the way for a new form "called at the time the 'true style' and, much later, Neo-classicism" (Honour and Fleming 475). Combining the values of the middle class with a realism recognizable to the masses, David chose rationalism as the salient feature of his works. His paintings were appealing to all members of the social structure because of the three main elements employed in each work—simplicity, strength, and heroism (Dowd 2-6). By combining the virtue of the ancients with a rationalism that carried universal appeal, David was considered the founder of Neo-classicism (Dowd 2). David's reformed style was compatible in philosophy with the basic dogma of the philosophes during this period, who desired a use of the "emotional appeal of the fine arts" (Leith 14). As David became more embroiled in the developing political crisis, he would utilize his skills for just such a purpose.

David returned to Paris in 1780, determined to revive the ancient element in painting. His first attempt was his "Belisarius Begging for Alms," completed in 1781. This work shows the aged general Belisarius being recognized by one of his former soldiers as the old man entreating

passersby for money (Clark 21). Although this work marked a turning-point in David's career (Founders Society 365) and was well-received, David was not satisfied with the traditional classicism he had portrayed: he realized "his classicism must be revolutionary, and must appeal to the people . . ." (Clark 21). Drawn from his stay in Italy, "the same cold republican fanaticism as Robespierre brought into politics" became an integral part of David's subsequent works (Gaunt 114).

Louis XVI commissioned David to execute a history painting in 1784; David returned to Rome for inspiration (Founders Society 359). The Crown desired a series of works which would have "the didactic purpose of improving public morality through the visual arts" (Honour and Fleming 478). The subject of David's particular painting, inspired by a Corneille play (Dowd, *Pageant* 1), was probably suggested by Louis XVI's minister for the arts, but David himself chose the particular incident he immortalized (Honour and Fleming 478). On a huge canvas he depicted the Horatii brothers, three warriors who had been chosen to defend Rome against three warriors of Alba to settle the war between the two cities. Hands raised in salute, these Horatii swear on swords held by their father that they will sacrifice their lives, if necessary, to save their country. David's portrayal of "The Oath of the Horatii" was ideal for conveying a lesson in civic virtue to the French people; ironically, in propagating such heroism in art, the government had "unwittingly helped to forge a potential revolutionary weapon for the bourgeoisie" (Leith 81). The members of the middle class were especially able to relate to this Graeco-Roman-style painting because of their educations in the classics (Dowd, *Pageant* 1-2), but the "Oath of the Horatii" also intrigued the peasants by presenting its message of patriotism with directness and visual economy (Honour and Fleming 478). "The whole picture . . . [was], indeed, a perfectly conscious piece of propaganda, which was planned like a political campaign" (Clark 23). Both the critics and the public in Paris enthusiastically received the "Oath," calling David the " 'Corneille of painting.' " Resentful of the young artist's success, however, the Academy placed the painting in an out-of-the-way place in its exhibition. In a further rebuff, the Academy denied David appointment as Director of the French Academy at Rome in 1787, even though he was popularly regarded the head of the French School and the leader of the Neo-classic tradition. David had furthered his reputation at the Salon in 1787 with his "Death of Socrates" (Dowd, *Pageant* 17-18).

Rapidly becoming known for his "advanced political views" (Dowd, *Pageant* 34), David chose as his subject for the 1789 Academic exhibition "The Lictors Bringing Back to Brutus the Bodies of His Sons." This painting, which illustrated the Roman consul Brutus receiving the bodies of his two sons, executed at his command for treason (Honour and Fleming 478), "formed a rallying point for Republican sentiment . . ." (Rosenau xiv). Brutus had overthrown tyranny and had restored the senate; the liberals had hopes for much the same result in France. The reivial of rule by law in France echoed the laws of Rome restored by Brutus; Brutus' sacrifice of his family to the state could be interpreted as an example to the king that warned him to end corruption in government (Herbert 50-51). Before the painting could gain mass appeal, however, it had to be publicly displayed. The Revolution had erupted before the Salon opened in 1789, and David's "Brutus" was barred from the exhibition as a result of the court's attempts to keep the Salon from becoming "an avenue for revolutionary propaganda" (Dowd, *Pageant* 19). The public outrage which ensued when this censorship was exposed forced the court to reassess its position, and the picture was exhibited as planned. Now considered an instigator of subversive thought, ". . . at the outbreak of the Revolution, David was the most powerful as well as the most famous artist in all France" (Dowd, *Pageant* 20).

The fever of revolution peaked in the years 1793-94, with increasing numbers of artists supporting the idea of art as propaganda (Leith 111). The Committee of Public Instruction stressed the importance of the role artists could play in persuading the public to accept the Revolution. Louis Partiez, a member of this Committee, claimed before the Convention that "to succeed in its mission the government would have to employ all the . . . arts," as opposed to banning them from the Republic (Leith 106). David, who considered his art "a weapon of a vigorous republican government" (Gaunt 139), joined the revolutionary movement as a Jacobin, an extremist elected to the Convention in 1792 who eventually voted for the death of the king for whom he had once painted (Honour and Fleming 478). David's interest in the Revolution cannot be attributed to impetuous youth; forty-one years old when the fracas began, he became involved in the Revolution because of his strong convictions and his violent temperament (Rosenau 19).

One major conviction held by David that spurred him to rebellion was his belief that the Academy needed extensive internal reforms. Although the Revolution itself had not altered painting styles, its open protests against the ancient regime of government provided an opening for similar objections from the artists' quarter. The basic issue concerned the training of young artists: the Academy was seen by the rebelling artists as too strict in its guidelines and as having too great an influence over which artists' works would be exhibited in the Salon (Founders Society 101-102). "A prolonged ideological battle" raged between the Academicians and David and his democratically-inclined followers (Leith 111), who had organized into the Communes des Arts in 1790 (Leith 142). The Academy's opposition to David's ideas "enraged the

artist and forced him to appeal to . . . the Jacobin Club." The men of the Club welcomed the chance to gain David as a member, especially since he was already the leader of a formidable protest group (Dowd, *Pageant* 34). Largely as a result of David's Jacobin power, all Academies were done away with in August of 1793 (Leith 142). These organizations would never fully recover from this severe blow; later reconstituted under the Directory, they were nothing more than "a small clique with official support" (Rosen and Zerner 114).

David stood "supreme and unchallenged as a . . . 'dictator of the arts'" by the end of 1793. Suppressing the Academy and practically controlling all artistic organizations, he next focused on the creation of a "Republic of Virtue" by masterminding an entire propaganda program. Called upon by Robespierre and his contemporaries, he became the "official propagandist of the Revolution" (Dowd, *Pageant* 95). The Jacobins, whose concept of virtue was drawn from classical history, had been greatly impressed by David's "Brutus" and wanted Revolutionary heroism to be similarly portrayed by means of art works (Leith 106-107). Utilizing the style he had developed for his earlier depictions of ancient virtues, David painted the martyrs of the Revolution—Joseph Bara, shot by Royalists; Lepeletier de Saint-Fargeau, another Royalist victim; Jean-Paul Marat, murdered in his bath by Charlotte Corday. Of these three, " 'The Dead Marat' is the most deeply moving . . . perhaps the greatest 'political' picture ever painted" (Honour and Fleming 478). The assassination of Marat, who was popularly seen as a friend to the oppressed poor (Rosenau 55), immediately roused tremendous public emotion (Clark 30). David's painting was perceived as an attempt to continue the martyr's beliefs in the people's revolution (Rosenau 66). "It . . . [was] a revolutionary icon, a secular Pieta, intended to immortalize Marat . . . as ruthless in its logic and unyielding in its austerity as the political ideals of the Jacobins . . ." (Honour and Fleming 479).

David soon became the most influential member of the Committee for Public Instruction and as such organized a new concept in propaganda—the Revolutionary pageant (Founders Society 359). Although he also arranged public funerals for Jacobin heroes and celebrations for victories of republicanism, designed public works such as statues and monuments, and drew caricatures, it was David's festivals that influenced the illiterate masses of Paris by means of visual spectacle (Dowd, *Pageant* 97). The last festival David organized was his most brilliant. The Festival of the Supreme Being in 1794, celebrated at the peak of the activities of the Cult of Reason, was significant for two reasons: it represented both the culmination of David's propaganda pageants and also the zenith of Robespierre's political power (Dowd, *Pageant* 119). In little more than a month after the Festival, Robespierre had fallen from

authority. Their powerful leader executed, the Jacobins lost influence, and David was imprisoned by the new regime (Rosenau 19).

David was accused before the Convention on counts of persecution and cruelty. These charges could not be substantiated, and David was subsequently released. He admitted that Robespierre had deceived him but refused to condemn the Revolution itself (Rosenau 19). A basic element of David's character was his admiration of order; for this reason he was not overly distressed by the murder of Robespierre, whom David by then considered an undesirable element. And at the risk of being labelled a "turncoat" later by his contemporaries, he embraced the rule of Napoleon and Napoleon's iron-clad standards for a similar reason. David did not see himself as undergoing any radical transformation in supporting the Emperor—"After all, what could be more Roman than an Emperor whose armies fought under the Eagles" (Rosenau xiv)?

Militarism as opposed to nationalism became the governing spirit in France during Napoleon's reign, but David did not incorporate this mood into his personal philosophy (Rosenau 60), despite his respect for the Emperor (Rosenau 21). Relaxing the austerity of his Jacobin paintings (Honour and Fleming 482) and adjusting his politics to better suit the new Empire, David nonetheless continued to be the reigning authority in the arts (Gaunt 140). Napoleon, in reviving once more the pure classical images that had become distorted during the Revolution and in continuing the taste for the Neo-classical (Furst 46), re-emphasized David's pre-eminence. In 1804 the artist was appointed "premier peintre" to the Emperor (Rosenau 21). His first great work of this period was his "The Sabine Women Enforcing Peace by Running Between the Combatants," in which he chose to depict the Sabines attempting to reconcile their fathers and brothers with the Romans rather than showing the rape of the women, as many other artists had (Rosenau 30-31). This fairly unusual viewpoint originated in David's appreciation of a potential for peace during Napoleon's rule. Both the peasants and the Republicans looked to the Emperor not as a threat to their hard-won liberties but as a champion of them. David's painting touched directly upon this new harmony (Rosenau 64-65).

Despite the admiration David had for his patron, his career as Napoleon's court painter was not free from difficulty. The Emperor twice rejected a full-length portrait of himself arrayed in the imperial robes that was to be sent to Genoa, once in 1806 and again in 1811. This particular painting was never completed (Founders Society 373). Furthermore, of a series of works intended to glorify the Empire, only two—the "Coronation of Napoleon" and "The Distribution of the Eagles"—were completed (Rosenau 22). The "Coronation," a portrayal whose style did express the inclinations of French painting of the period

(Founders Society 117), cannot be considered true classicism; its composition is that of official painting, guided by the ruler (Clark 36). Further dictating to his court artist, Napoleon the realist would not allow David to represent allegorical figures throwing laurels on the eagles in "The Distribution." Napoleon also insisted that David paint Josephine out of the "Oath of Napoleon" following his divorce, in order to avoid angering the new Empress, Marie-Louise (Rosenau 33). In spite of these misunderstandings, David remained loyal to the Emperor, to the extent of refusing to paint a portrait of the Duke of Wellington, a chief cause of Napoleon's eventual downfall (Rosenau 22).

Following this downfall, the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty in 1814 signified jeopardy for an artist who had been called the "Raphael of the Sansculottes"; David was exiled to Brussels and remained there until his death in 1825. Political feeling still ran so high against him at this time that he was denied burial in France (Rosenau 22). During his lifetime he had been considered the head of French painting, but following his death "he was dismissed lightly . . . as a shallow classicist whose art was out of date" (Rosenau xi). Attitudes towards the arts underwent a dramatic change in the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first of the nineteenth century: the artist now had license to be individually creative (Honour and Fleming 480). The sudden political and social changes wrought by the French Revolution and the Empire shattered the complacency of the ordinary man (Talmon 10). To the artists, these changes meant the advent of yet another art style—Romanticism. France was the only Western country in which there was a full-scale Romantic movement after 1815 (Talmon 135). This movement was basically a revolt against Neo-classic attitudes; "the revolutionary era . . . [had] created a new . . . audience avid for rapid action, melodrama and sharp contrasts" (Furst 46). Austere Neo-classicism no longer satisfied the demand. In place of Neo-classical themes of rationalism and traditionalism, Romantics utilized individualism and emotionalism (Furst 27).

Still, David exerted a powerful influence over his followers. Baron Gros, his most faithful pupil, remained the lone keeper of the classical school in Paris (Rosenau 46). His loyalty eventually ended in tragedy: hounded by the Romantics, Gros committed suicide in 1835 (Gaunt 141). Isabey, a miniaturist who painted numerous portraits of Napoleon, was obviously inspired by David's portraits, although Isabey softened David's style (Rosenau 49). Another pupil, Hubert Robert, was successful in forming a transition from the Neo-classical to the Romantic movement (Gaunt 122-123).

Perhaps David's greatest lasting contribution to the art world lies in his influence on entire subsequent art movements, from Impressionism

to Cubism (Rosenau 41-42), through his use of color and line. Certainly few people recognize his name today; yet, at the peak of his career, David united the French in a spirit of patriotism with his brilliantly calculated propaganda. The intense political involvement of Jacques-Louis David imbued his art with the heroism that made it invaluable to the revolutionaries; ironically, this very same political fanaticism sometimes seems to have sublimated his artistic nature and may well be the greatest contributing force to David's relative obscurity today.

WORKS CITED

Clark, Kenneth. *The Romantic Rebellion: Romantic Versus Classic Art.* New York: Harper & Row, 1973.

Dowd, David Lloyd. *Pageant-Master of the Republic: Jacques-Louis David and the French Revolution.* 1948. Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1969.

_____. *Pageant-Master of the Republic: Jacques-Louis David and the French Revolution.* Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Studies, 1948.

Founders Society The Detroit Institute of Arts, The Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Reunion des Musees Notionaux, Paris. *French Painting 1774-1830: The Age of Revolution.* Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts, 1975.

Furst, Lillian R. *Romanticism in Perspective: A Comparative Study of Aspects of the Romantic Movements in England, France and Germany.* New York: Humanities Press, 1970.

Gaunt, W. *Bandits in a Landscape: A Study of Romantic Painting from Caravaggio to Delacroix.* New York: The Studio Publications Inc., 1937.

Herbert, Robert L. *David, Voltaire, Brutus and the French Revolution: An Essay in Art and Politics.* New York: The Viking Press, 1972.

Honour, Hugh, and John Fleming. *The Visual Arts: A History.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1982.

Leith, James A. *The Idea of Art as Propaganda in France 1750-1799: A Study in the History of Ideas.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.

Rosen, Charles, and Henri Zerner. *Romanticism and Realism: The Mythology of Nineteenth-Century Art.* New York: The Viking Press, 1984.

Rosenau, Helen. *The Painter Jacques-Louis David.* London: Nicholson & Watson, 1948.

Talmon, J.L. *Romanticism and Revolt: Europe 1815-1848.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1967.

Corporate Reorganization of Hospitals - Is it an Effective Adaptive Response to Environmental Change?

by James Larry Vaughn

Corporate reorganization of hospitals has occurred with increasing frequency in recent years. Faced with the mounting complexity of state and federal laws and regulations, rising social demands, improved technological abilities, and increased competition, hospitals have had to determine the most effective means of developing the requisite corporate flexibility needed to manage the impact of resulting environmental changes. Many hospitals have chosen corporate reorganization as an adaptive response to the dynamic influences that have arisen.

To gain an understanding of why some hospitals have chosen corporate reorganization as the means of providing an oranizational structure that will improve their position relative to the marketplace and the regulatory environment, the nature of corporate restructuring will be reviewed. This will be done by examining the goals, objectives and scope of reorganization in the hospital industry. Environmental considerations influencing hospitals will be discussed. Perceived advantages of corporate reorganization will be studied by examining its financial, administrative, and regulatory impact. Finally, the efficacy of corporate restructuring as an adaptive response will be reviewed by analyzing the risks and constraints of reorganization from financial, legal, managerial and communication perspectives.

Many hospitals have chosen corporate reorganization as the tool to facilitate and coordinate the adaptive changes required by environmental flux. Expressed in simple terms, corporate reorganization involves a shifting of functions and/or assets between the hospital and one or more for-profit or not-for-profit entities. As an example, the new entity may be composed of several corporations, such as the not-for-profit parent corporation, the not-for-profit hospital, and for-profit corporations, such as laundries, reference laboratories, collection agencies, and physician office building rentals. This form of structural change arises from a belief that the existing structure is not flexible enough to allow the effective management of current activities, the protection of assets, reimbursement maximization, or the development of new programs and services. The goals of corporate restructuring include:

- To shelter assets from governmental "confiscation" (e.g., rate setting).

- To improve third-party reimbursement.
- To improve tax consequences.
- To improve Certificate of Need status.
- To increase efficiency of operations.
- To increase operating flexibility.
- To protect assets from malpractice claims.
- To increase community involvement.
- To facilitate generation of additional revenues.
- To survive in a competitive marketplace.[1]

As can be noted from the goals listed, the adoption of this new structure is often viewed as an exercise in self-preservation. It is believed that "all organizations must actively manage their environmental dependencies in order to accomplish their goals, have discretion in goal setting, and avoid risking their organization's demise."[2] Corporate reorganization is an attempt to define the hospital's mission and plans and "develop other corporate entities that will support it."[3]

An Ernst & Whinney survey of corporate reorganization, published in August, 1982, found that "restructuring is taking place among hospitals of all sizes in urban, suburban and rural settings . . . [and] . . . it is most prevalent among larger, urban hospitals."[4] Using responses from over 500 chief executive officers in not-for-profit, nongovernmental hospitals, the survey found that 155 hospitals had either reorganized or were in the process of doing so.[5] Today, two years later, health care literature continues to be replete with both examples of hospitals that are reorganizing and discussions of the merits of reorganization.

A reorganization may be based on existing programs that are transferred to new entities or it may establish new services as a result of the corporate changes. The corporate changes may be obtained by adopting one of several forms of corporate structure. The Ernst & Whinney survey found that 63% of the new structures were based on a parent-subsidiary relationship.[6] Other popular structures include multi-institutional arrangements (involving contractual linkages, either vertically or horizontally integrated, for managerial, purchasing, and other shared service arrangements), related and unrelated foundations, and mergers. Finally, another recent paper noted that "at present, 35% of all nongovernmental nonprofit hospitals in the United States are operating in some form of multi-institutional arrangement."[7]

Having briefly delineated the nature of corporate reorganization from a procedural perspective, it is important to note the environmental influences encouraging consideration of new structures for hospitals. Realizing that hospitals are open system organizations which interact continuously with their external environment,[8] it is essential to know how such organizations manage external dependencies. John Kotter, of

the Harvard Business School, contends that there are two ways by which any organization manages external dependence:

- It can try to reduce demands made by external elements by reducing its dependence on those elements and/or by gaining some countervailing power over them.
- It can try to minimize the cost of complying with the demands made by those external elements.[9]

Kotter further suggests that these strategies are implemented when organizations choose their domain; establish favorable relationships with external elements; control who operates and how they operate in the chosen domain; and create mechanisms for adapting, conflict resolution and coping with each external influence.[10] This appears to be exactly what hospitals do when they consider corporate restructuring. They are choosing to manage external dependence through an adaptive organizational design, rather than by changing the external environment.[11]

To grasp more completely the extent of environmental influence upon hospitals, we'll consider a portion of the applicable influences: economic, political, regulatory, competitive, and social. Beginning with the economic perspective, health care costs increased from less than $50 billion in 1965 to over $350 billion in 1983, or 6.1% and 10.8% of gross national product, respectively.[12] As a result, the early 1980s found many hospitals believing in ". . . corporate reorganization as a means of dealing with the problems caused by inflation: higher wages, interest rates, malpractice premiums, and costs for utilities, medical and surgical supplies, and maintenance."[13] Hospitals quickly saw that high inflation and unemployment rates combined to cause declining utilization of acute care services, growing employer unwillingness to pay everrising health care costs, and increasing free care requirements. More importantly, the Reagan administration came to power in Washington with a whole new economic perspective:

> The free market thinkers who have come to power in Washington have a significantly different vision of how health care delivery economics should work. Their concept includes the patient as an economic decision maker within the demand side of the system to encourage a more cost-efficient supply-side restructuring in an environment regulated by countervailing self-interests, otherwise known as competition.[14]

In other words, the Reagan administration believed people should not rely solely on traditional health care choices. Instead, the administration encouraged buyer sophistication, believing each person should examine alternative service sources and use the least costly source. In an effort to control burgeoning health care allocations in the Federal budget, the

politics of resource allocation became more refined as the government began trying to influence the domain participants through a realignment of its reimbursement mechanisms.

This changing external environment intensified hospitals' awareness of the need to manage external dependencies. In a review of the changes, hospitals found that they faced reduced federal and private-sector funding of health care services, increased demands for cost containment, and the development of alternate sources of health care. Perhaps the most influential of these changes arose when Congress passed the Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act of 1982 (TEFRA) and Title VI of the Social Security Amendments of 1983.

TEFRA contained a legislated response to over fifteen years of expansion in Medicare and related health programs. Created in 1965 to assist the elderly in obtaining health services, the Medicare program resulted in a doubling of admissions of patients 65 years of age and older between 1965 and 1980.[15] Federal expenditures for Medicare services increased commensurately. In response, TEFRA began a process to control federal disbursements by changing the federal payment system from a retrospective cost basis to a prospective payment basis. It did so by reducing the revenue reimbursements to hospitals for in-patient services through establishment of cost reimbursement limits and by mandating development of a prospective payment system. This heavily impacts hospitals because forty to fifty percent of their business typically comes from federally reimbursed programs.

TEFRA made the most far-reaching changes in the federal health care programs since the enactment of Medicare in 1965. It was surpassed in effect by the enactment of "Prospective Payment for Medicare In-patient Hospital Services" as Title VI of the Social Security Amendments of 1983. "The intent of the Medicare prospective payment system is to change hospital incentives through the introduction of financial risk."[16] Cost based reimbursement resulted in hospitals being reimbursed a portion of each dollar spent on Medicare services. Consequently, to be reimbursed more, you spent more and there was no incentive to contain costs.

Under the prospective payment system (which went into effect for hospitals with accounting periods beginning on or after October 1, 1983), a predetermined fixed price is established for each of 468 diagnostic classifications of illness, called Diagnostic Related Groups (DRG). If hospitals keep their costs below the fixed price for a specific DRG case, they make money. If costs are in excess of the prospective prices, hospitals will absorb the difference. Thus, a financial risk arises.

A key element of the prospective payment system is pre-admission certification of Medicare admissions. This is done in each state by

private oversight groups, called peer review organizations (PRO), who are under contract to the Health Care Financing Administration (HCFA). Before a Medicare patient can be admitted, unless it is an emergency, the physician must obtain approval from the PRO that the service is necessary and appropriate. If this is not done, Medicare does not pay. The PROs also perform a utilization review function by examining pre-admission and post-admission data, and studying admission patterns and physician practice styles.

On a microeconomic basis, past medical services have been heavily influenced by physicians, who have in essence dictated what services would be offered and in what quantities, and to what people. Under the prospective payment system, the government (through PROs) obviously has a larger regulatory influence. With an emphasis on reducing unnecessary Medicare admissions, the tremendous effect of PROs and regulatory changes is exemplified by the fact that the 112 hospitals in Kentucky have experienced a 20% drop in Medicare admissions in the six months ending in mid-1984.[17] Nationally, "in the first four months of this year . . . admissions of patients over age 65 declined by 1.2%, from the like 1983 stretch, and the lengths of their stays declined a full 7.5%."[18]

In addition to the federal regulatory environment, the states also influence health care through the rate review process, the Certificate of Need boards, and through licensure requirements. These programs coalesce to form intensive regulatory effects on hospitals. A total review of regulatory intensity would include an analysis of the scope of regulations, their restrictiveness, their duration, and the degree of uncertainty created by them.[19] Suffice it to say, the regulatory influences upon hospitals are pervasive, intensive, and comprehensive.

In the area of competition, tremendous changes have arisen. The previously noted emphasis on alternative health care sources has encouraged the development and spread of:

- Emergicenters.
- Surgicenters.
- Ambulatory surgery.
- Home health agencies.
- Health maintenance organizations.
- Geriatric out-patient care.
- Skilled nursing facilities.
- Occupational health programs.

Today, hospitals and physicians are frequently aggressive competitors for the same patient. With encouragement from their employers and insurance companies, patients have begun to shop for the specific services they want to purchase, seek multiple opinions, use paraprofessionals, and rely on out-patient surgery, rather than in-patient.

In the midst of economic fluctuations, political rhetoric, regulatory restrictions, and increased competition, social concerns must also be considered. There seems to be a dichotomy of public thought wherein people want more services and less costs. As the government reduces its spending, fears are arising that health care must inevitably be rationed:

> The economics of hospital operation today are forcing hospitals to seek a balance between a societal view that health care for everyone at any cost is a right, and that profit making must be at the expense of those programs that may be most needed by those who are unable to pay.[20]

Stated slightly differently, hospitals are concerned about whether they will be able to fulfill their mission of providing health care to the indigent and aged, as well as to those who pay.

In an effort to cope with such major changes, preserve the patient base, and produce income from non-patient related activities, hospitals have begun examining their organizational structure and redefining the range of services offered. They are reviewing their existing product lines and programs to determine which should be retained, eliminated, or enhanced. Hospitals are no longer perceiving themselves as merely being providers of acute in-patient care. New programs and services, some of which are not health care related, are being examined. The "motivations for doing so include the desire to increase their revenue base and assure financial survival, to add new services to meet community needs, and to achieve better use of existing resources through less costly methods of health care delivery."[21]

Recognizing the existence, validity and extent of environmental influences, many hospitals perceive a reorganized structure as a means of improving their position relative to environmental uncertainties. They see it as a chance to maximize new opportunities and to minimize possible threats. Using Thompson's perspective, corporate reorganization by hospitals is an attempt "to protect or seal off their technical cores."[22] This is accomplished by shifting assets and/or programs in an effort to adapt to environmental influences. While the list of suggested benefits derived from corporate restructuring is varied, they may be grouped as either financial, regulatory, or administrative.

Perhaps the most touted advantages of corporate reorganization are those of a financial nature. Faced with increased government and private-sector financial pressures, hospitals are diligently trying to enhance their financial condition. Reorganization's proponents believe that these benefits include:

- Asset protection.
- Alternative revenue sources.
- Tax considerations.

- Reimbursement incentives.

Beginning with the area of asset protection, 92% of the respondents in the Ernst & Whinney survey believed reorganization would enhance asset protection.[23] One may consider this topic from either the perspective of litigation or rate review. It is fundamental that hospitals function in a high technology environment. The demands of acute in-patient care require facilities that can shelter, feed, and treat the total needs of patients. The investment to obtain and maintain these assets is tremendous. For example, it is not uncommon for individual pieces of equipment to cost several hundred thousand dollars. In turn, it is also not uncommon for hospitals to be involved in litigation resulting from the use of these assets.

When there is litigation, potential exists for judgments against the hospital which exceed the amount of the hospital's malpractice or general liability insurance. Corporate restructuring helps address this issue by shifting assets from the hospital into other entities, thereby safeguarding them from the effects of verdicts against the hospital. Restructuring's advocates believe this is a sound means of reducing financial risk.

A second perspective relating to asset protection deals with rate review. This is a process whereby any changes in hospital charges to patients for services or supplies must be approved in advance by a regulatory agency. The process typically involves an analysis of the revenues, expenses, net income, capital additions, and free care (charity) service for each hospital. If the rate review board finds that the hospital has made too much income, they will reduce the amount of revenue increase the hospital may implement.

In response, hospitals in states with rate review attempt to transfer funds to affiliates as a means of avoiding the process. These transfers may result from the shifting of revenue to related companies through the direct transfer of programs to the new entities or they may occur when the hospital pays the affiliates for services they provide. In either instance, funds (i.e., assets) are sheltered from the rate review process and thereby protected through the addition of an extra structural layer.

Revenue diversification is another reason often used to support the merits of restructuring. Because third-party reimbursements do not normally pay all costs and due to an emphasis on reducing hospital's reliance on governmental reimbursement and other external dependencies, both related and unrelated businesses may be developed as sources of additional income and services. For example, the new structure may be designed to allow development of for-profit, taxable corporations which serve a direct and recurring role in daily hospital operations, such as laundries, collection agencies, and reference laboratories. The reorganized company may enter into linkage arrangements with physicians and other investors whereby joint ventures are created for the development of medical office buildings, equipment purchases, and leasing programs. With profits from these ventures being transferred to the hospital, the possibilities are limitless.

From a slightly different view, restructuring is also a means of enhancing fund raising activities. Often a separate, tax-exempt foundation is established which can devote a portion of its time to fund raising. Monies generated can be turned over to the hospital in the form of a gift, which does not impact reimbursement.

While taxation is not a dominant motive for reorganization, it is a definite consideration. Most nonprofit hospitals are organized as tax-exempt organizations under Sec. 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code. This designation means that earnings from their primary business activities are not subject to federal taxation. However, as they adapt to environmental change and create additional sources of revenue, two main considerations arise. First, hospitals must pay taxes on their unrelated business income just as if they were a regular for-profit company. Second, a hospital's tax-exempt status may be jeopardized if it engages in substantive unrelated business activities.

Corporate restructuring is designed to resolve both of these problems. With proper tax planning, restructuring allows the shifting of unrelated business income to affiliate structures. This prevents the hospital's tax-exempt status from being affected by the amount of income derived from such functions.

Finally, reimbursement benefits from reorganization were another significant financial expectation under cost-based reimbursement systems. The Ernst & Whinney survey found that, prior to beginning reorganization, 74% of the respondents felt that a new corporate structure would be beneficial.[24] The restructuring would allow activities with poor reimbursement consequences to be transferred to affiliate organizations. Administrative costs could then be partially allocated to these new areas, thereby minimizing the offsets for nonreimbursable expense which would otherwise occur.

As stated earlier, hospitals are in a heavily regulated environment. When federal and state regulations and the state regulatory boards are arrayed together, hospitals perceive them as substantive barriers to effective operations. They view these regulations as "a tax on hospital behavior in that it not only affects price but it also can affect hospital output and quality of care."[25] While this perception varies with the degree of regulatory intensity encountered, the disadvantages are sufficient to encourage a desire to avoid regulations whenever feasible.

A reduction in regulatory governance is achieved through restruc-

tured operations. Affiliates can make investments, capital expenditures (to build office buildings or purchase equipment), set prices and offer services which would otherwise require regulatory approval if done by the hospital. By avoiding the regulatory maze, hospital management can devote more time to current operations and reduce the cost of achieving desired objectives.

Corporate reorganization is perceived to benefit the administrative activities of a hospital. These benefits involve: managerial effectiveness, organizational flexibility, and marketing. Realizing that they cannot control the entire domain because of fiscal intermediaries, government, and community influences, "the interest in corporate restructuring has served as the agent for broadening management's awareness of the techniques available to protect and develop an institution's capabilities . . . [for] . . . after all, corporate restructuring is really a means to an end and not the end itself."[26]

The management benefits produced by restructuring include increased management control and efficiency, more opportunities for growth for administrators, and new occasions for centralization of specific activities.[27] Advocates of restructuring believe that hospital managers face fewer decision restraints when they are able to function in an organizational structure less subject to regulatory governance. In considering opportunities for growth, a more highly developed organizational structure creates new jobs which allow for increased compensation and which may be more varied, challenging and complex. Finally, the structural opportunities outside of the hospital entity will allow managers to make decisions based on efficiency and centralization of duties, rather than basing them on regulatory influences.

A view of the restructured organization as a whole points toward increased flexibility and additional planning and development choices. As noted above, affiliate organizations could be assigned functions which would be heavily controlled if performed by the hospital. Also, use of related affiliates would allow information about their operations to remain confidential whereas the data might be disclosed if the activities were performed by the hospital. In the area of capital access, the broader revenue base of the reorganized structure would provide sources of funds in addition to the traditional bond markets. These factors result in less regulatory influence and increased opportunity for entrepreneurial zeal.

In the area of marketing, hospitals have not been aggressive in the past. The restructured organization would define its strategic business units, perform portfolio analyses, and examine market attractiveness. This would break the traditional mold, take advantage of organizational flexibility and address community needs and wants. Marketing awareness would be a focal point of decisions regarding new ventures. It would not only assist in identifying productive means of investing resources, but would also help indicate when to terminate services.

If one views only the perceived advantages of reorganization, an aura or respectability seems to exist which enhances the efficacy of the restructuring decision. One must note, however, that changes in an organization structure either leave it stronger or weaker in terms of adaptive ability. A review of the perceived advantages of corporate reorganization by hospitals and an analysis of the risks and constraints posed by the changes indicates that unrealistic expectations may exist on the part of the restructuring advocates. To assess the risks and constraints of the process, financial, legal, managerial and communication factors will be considered.

An objective review of the financial advantages of reorganization indicates that they are either minimal, or may be achieved without the expense and effort required by restructuring. In fact, restructuring may result in additional costs to the organization due to increased paperwork and increased needs for clerical, accounting, and managerial staff. Beginning with the previously noted advantage of asset protection, one must ask why the physical assets cannot be protected by buying sufficient malpractice and general liability insurance? If asset protection denotes protecting the hospital's revenue sources during a rate review process, "such protection is becoming unnecessary because of prospective 'fixed rate' reimbursement systems."[28] Simply stated, the federally mandated, nationally based, regionally adjusted, fixed price payment system for Medicare services, has resulted in the rate review process becoming unnecessary, and therefore no longer an influential issue.

In 1982, the Ernst & Whinney survey showed that third party reimbursement was the primary reason for considering reorganization.[29] Today, reimbursement justifications for reorganization are diminished by the implementation of Medicare's prospective payment system for in-patient acute care services. In place since October 1, 1983, the system's use of a fixed price for each DRG eliminates the benefits available under cost-based reimbursement, wherein you tried to minimize your nonreimbursable costs.

The most pertinent tax issue raised by restructuring is the risk of the tax-exempt status of the non-profit hospital. Since a hospital's tax-exempt status is not guaranteed in perpetuity, it must be protected. The greatest risk to this status arises when the Internal Revenue Service finds inurement existing. Inurement occurs when a private individual or entity uses an exempt organization's funds or assets for private purposes, except as reasonable payment for goods and services

received by the exempt organization.

Actually, corporate reorganization may enhance the likelihood of the inurement issue arising. The reorganized structure will face this problem if it does not maintain its legal identity and conduct business with related parties in a commercially reasonable, arm's length manner. It often arises when "the managers of the for-profit ventures . . . look to the 'cash cow' (the hospital) for startup capital, operating loans, and goods and services" without allowing the transactions to be formally documented and controlled.[30]

Inurement is more easily proven in a restructured organization because decentralization of authority may diminish accounting and administrative controls, and hospital managers have not been trained to consider and respect taxation issues arising between for-profit and tax-exempt entities. The results may be numerous. From a fund raising view, the hospital may no longer be able to receive tax deductible contributions. Not only will a hospital's tax-exempt status under federal laws be endangered, it may also have its state sales tax and real property tax exemptions nullified.

The issue of unrelated business income is far less serious than inurement. While restructuring's supporters are correct in saying that too large an amount of unrelated business income will jeopardize the tax-exempt status, any notion that reorganization will minimize taxation of such income is false. The location of taxation of the income is simply shifted from the tax-exempt entity to the related affiliate.

Several areas of legal risk arise when reorganization occurs. Donor imposed restrictions on the use and ownership of assets must be considered. Fiduciary responsibilities regarding grants and donations must be reviewed. Other issues include: limited liability, contractual obligations, debt covenant restrictions and antitrust issues.

The concept of limited liability indicates corporate reorganization may be beneficial because it transfers assets to different corporations, thereby protecting them from judgments against a related entity. A problem arises when corporations do not act as distinct organizations, but are instead under the control of a related party. Most states have a doctrine related to this issue, called "piercing the corporate veil," whereby the courts examine the corporate structure to find responsibility, and therefore liability, for corporate actions.[31]

This "piercing the corporate veil" problem arises when directors and management forget that they are dealing with separate corporations and attempt to continue to operate as if they still have only one corporation. As a result, the courts may hold the related parties liable for one another's actions. While this risk cannot be totally eliminated, those considering reorganization should develop levels of corporate

autonomy sufficient to establish the distinctiveness of each of the related organizations.

Every hospital has numerous contractual relationships for the purchase of goods and services, acquisition of property and equipment, and reciprocal service arrangements with other health care providers.[32] Reorganization may cause such contracts to be void, and could require their reissuance or even renegotiation. The hospital must consider the implications of these contracts prior to restructuring.

Debt covenant restrictions may limit the organization's ability to transfer functions or title to assets. Such encumbrances may also restrict the reorganized structure's use of assets as pledges for financing. The Ernst & Whinney survey found that 64% of the hospitals had debt covenants prior to their reorganization.[33] Obviously, debt covenants are significant constraints on reorganizational plans. To avoid legal entanglements, a corporate reorganization will require either the approval of the bond trustees or bond holders, or an advance refunding of debt.

Federal antitrust laws prohibit the establishment of monopolies or actions that substantially lessen competition. Despite the trend in health care to obtain economies through coordination and cooperative efforts, before entering into a reorganization one must determine whether the relationships with related affiliates will result in exclusionary market practices or price fixing. Since violation of antitrust laws can produce civil or criminal proceedings, the avoidance of these "per se" violations is essential.

Having discussed the more frequent financial and legal risks of reorganization, the managerial and communication consequences must be noted. They involve support from participants, managerial skills, community acceptance, and communication of objectives. Given that a plan of reorganization has been developed, it will only be successfully implemented if it both receives the support of all parties and the participants have the skills required to implement the plan.

The Ernst & Whinney survey found lack of board and management (medical and non-medical) support cited by respondents 21% and 28% of the time, respectively, as the greatest single obstacles faced in the reorganization process.[34] This reduction in support may arise from disagreements between the board members of the different entities over the scope of their authority and the extent of influence they should have over the related businesses. Management's dissatisfaction may originate from increased work loads, reductions in authority, and a lack of information regarding the extent of changes being implemented. When there is an erosion of board and management support, the organization will be constrained from completing its reorganization or at least will

not do so in a timely fashion and effectively.

A vital question that must be raised is to ask if management has the training and ability to function in a multi-corporate environment? Having been trained to operate a hospital, they have not had to exhibit the managerial acumen required to operate separate businesses. While they can be trained to function effectively by developing new financial, managerial, operational, and marketing skills, the reorganized structure may find it more profitable, and expedient, to hire specialists to manage the non-health care related entities it establishes.

Many tax-exempt hospitals have close community ties, including community ownership, board representation, and financial support. When news is disclosed that the "community's hospital" is to be part of a corporate reorganization, many people will assume a proprietary stance, and fear that services offered by the hospital will be reduced. Fund-raising may be hampered. Board members, especially the community appointees, will be pressured. If alternative health care is available, a boycott of the hospital may be implemented. The result will be significant hindrances to effective restructuring unless the community can be convinced that the reorganization's merits serve the community's interests.

A problem can develop in the restructuring process when adequate information is not shared with the participants. The term participants is used to include management, staff, medical staff, board members, and the community. Effective communications will reduce management and board resentment. It will appease employee discontent and will allay the anxiety felt by the community.

After the reorganization occurs, the organization may still experience communication problems. Size creates its own problems because the same information must be disseminated to more people. To minimize communication problems in corporate reorganizations, human resource management skills will have to be used to address the concerns that arise.

The decision to reorganize should only be made after reviewing the benefits to be achieved. This analysis has shown several prominent advantages of hospital corporate reorganization. The risks associated with the restructuring have also been examined. When desiring to create an organizational structure that is viable and flexible in responding to environmental change, the commitment to reorganize should be based on a specific organization's needs, and not on an industry trend. Restructuring should create more favorable relations with external, environmental elements and reduce the organizational dependence on them, or it should not be implemented.

Hospital reorganizations are neither panaceas, nor are they shams. Serving in specific instances as effective adaptive responses to environmental change, they are not the solution to all problems faced by hospitals. While allowing hospitals to develop flexibility and to position themselves relative to regulatory requirements, community needs and competition, use of corporate reorganization must be accompanied by planning and sound business purpose. As noted above, reorganization should be viewed as a tool used to obtain a desired result. It is not the result itself.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Lawrence Gerber, "Adapting to Regulations and the Marketplace," *Healthcare Financial Management*, August, 1981, p. 13.

[2]Myron D. Fottler, John Schermerhorn, Jr., John Wong, and William H. Money, "Multi-institutional Arrangements in Healthcare: Review, Analysis, and a Proposal for Future Research," *The Academy of Management Review*, VII (January, 1982), 70.

[3]Joseph Peters and Simone Tseng, "Ten Hospitals Forge New Directions and Strategies," *Healthcare Financial Management*, March, 1984, p. 27.

[4]Ernst & Whinney, *Corporate Reorganization, A Survey of Hospitals That Have Reorganized* (Cleveland: Ernst & Whinney, 1982), p. 9.

[5]Ibid., p. 1.

[6]Ibid., p. 29.

[7]Fottler, Schermerhorn, Wong and Money, "Multi-institutional Arrangements," p. 67.

[8]Arthur G. Bedeian, *Organizations: Theory and Analysis* (New York: The Dryden Press, 1984), pp. 176-187.

[9]John P. Kotter, "Managing External Dependence." *The Academy of Management Review*, IV (January, 1979), 88.

[10]Ibid., pp. 88-90.

[11]Fottler, Schermerhorn, Wong and Money, "Multi-institutional Arrangements," p. 70.

[12]William Wolman, ed., "The Corporate Rx for Medical Costs," *Business Week*, No. 2864 (October 15, 1984), p. 139.

[13]Francis Marie Garvey, Sr. and Barry Feldman, J.D., "Archdiocese, Hospital Cooperate in Reorganization," *Hospital Progress*, 64 (September, 1983), 39.

[14]Gene Baldwin, "Seven Positive Approaches to Increased Competition" *Healthcare Financial Management*, December, 1982, p. 80.

[15]American Hospital Association, *Medicare Payment: Cost-Per-Case Management, Special Report 1*, (Chicago: American Hospital Association's Office of Public Policy) August, 1982, p. 1.

[16]Ernst & Whinney, *The Social Security Amendments of 1983, Title VI - Prospective Payments for Medicare In-patient Hospital Services*, (Cleveland: Ernst & Whinney), 1983, p. i.

[17]Gary Weis, "Medicare's Tough New Watchdogs," *Barron's*, Vol. LXIV, No. 36, September 3, 1984, p. 6.

[18]Ibid., p. 7.

[19]Karen Cook, Stephen M. Shortell, Douglas A. Conrad, and Michael A. Morrissey, "A Theory of Organizational Response to Regulation: The Case of Hospitals," *The Academy of Management Review*, 8 (April, 1983), 195.

[20]Barbara K. Stuart and Carole Steele, "Can a Hospital Mean Business?" *Healthcare Financial Management*, December, 1983, p. 26.

[21]Peters and Tseng, "Ten Hospitals Forge New Directions and Strategies," *Healthcare Financial Management*, March, 1984, p. 26.

[22]Bedeian, *Organizations: Theory and Analysis*, pp. 205-206.
[23]Ernst & Whinney, *Corporate Reorganization*, p. 19.
[24]Ibid., p. 50.
[25]Cook, Shortell, Conrad, and Morrissey, "A Theory of Organizational Response," p. 194.
[26]Raymond Cisneros, "Is it Corporate Restructuring or Management Awakening?," *Healthcare Financial Management*, July, 1981, p. 6.
[27]R. Neal Gilbert, CPA. "Corporate Restructuring Works for California Hospital," *Healthcare Financial Management*, September, 1982, p. 14.
[28]Mark G. Mishek, "Ten Reasons Not to Reorganize," *Healthcare Financial Management*, October, 1983, p. 110.
[29]Ernst & Whinney, *Corporate Reorganization*, p. 19.
[30]Mark G. Mishek, "Ten Reasons," p. 114.
[31]Eric Stonehill and Charles M. Ewell, Ph.D., "Constraints and risks of Corporate Reorganization," *Healthcare Financial Management*, September, 1982, p. 30.
[32]Ibid., p. 36.
[33]Ernst & Whinney, *Corporate Reorganization*, p. 43.
[34]Ibid., p. 20.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adler, Herbert S. "Planning for a Successful Acquisition." *Corporate Accounting*, Fall, 1984, pp. 42-49.

American Institute of Certified Public Accountants Health Care Subcommittee's Task Force on Federal Health Care Legislation. "Medicare Changes Create Accounting, Reporting, and Auditing Problems." *Healthcare Financial Management*, November, 1984, pp. 28-38.

American Hospital Association. *Medicare Payment: Cost-Per Case Management, Special Report 1*. Chicago: American Hospital Association's Office of Public Policy, 1982.

Baldwin, Gene. "Seven Positive Approaches to Increased Competition." *Healthcare Financial Management*, December, 1982, pp. 80-81.

Baptist, Allwyn J. "Transferring Funds During Corporate Restructuring - What are the Consequences?" *Healthcare Financial Management*, March, 1984, pp. 68-70.

Bedeian, Arthur G. *Organizations: Theory and Analysis*. New York: The Dryden Press, 1984.

Bleeke, Joel A., J.D. "Winning the New Competitive Game in Health Care." *Healthcare Financial Management*, December, 1982, pp. 46-59.

Chrisman, James J., and Carroll, Archie B. "Corporate Responsibility - Reconciling Economic and Social Goals." *Sloan Management Review*, 25 (Winter, 1984), 59-65.

Cisneros, Raymond. "Is it Corporate Restructuring or Management Awakening?" *Healthcare Financial Management*, July, 1981, p. 6.

Cook, Karen; Shortell, Stephen M.; Conrad, Douglas A. and Morrissey, Michael A. "A Theory of Organizational Response to Regulation: The Case of Hospitals." *The Academy of Management Review*, 8 (April, 1983), 193-205.

Ernst & Whinney. *Corporate Reorganization, A Survey of Hospitals That Have Reorganized*. Cleveland: Ernst & Whinney, 1982.

Ernst & Whinney. *The Social Security Amendments of 1983, Title VI - Prospective Payments for Medicare In-patient Hospital Services*. Cleveland: Ernst & Whinney, 1983.

Evans, Jay, and Galles, Daniel. "Consumer Attitudes Increase Buyer Sophistication." *Healthcare Financial Management*, December, 1982, pp. 76-78.

Fottler, Myron D., John Schermerhorn, Jr., John Wong, and William H. Money. "Multi-institutional Arrangements in Healthcare: Review, Analysis, and a Proposal for Future Research." *The Academy of Management Review*, VII (January, 1982), 67-79.

Francis Marie Garvey, Sr. and Barry Feldman, J.D., "Archdiocese, Hospital Cooperate in Reorganization," *Hospital Progress*, 64 (September, 1983), 39-41.

Gerber, Lawrence. "Adapting to Regulations and the Marketplace," *Healthcare Financial Management*, August, 1981, p. 12-15.

Gilbert, R. Neal, "Corporate Restructuring Works for California Hospital," *Healthcare Financial Management*, September, 1982, pp. 13-23.

Gregory, Douglas, Ph.D., and Kaufman, Kenneth. "Managing the Diversification Risk." *Healthcare Financial Management*, December, 1983, pp. 30-34.

Kotter, John P. "Managing External Dependence." *The Academy of Management Review*, IV (January, 1979), 87-91.

Levey, Samuel, and Loomba, N. Paul. *Healthcare Financial Management*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1984.

Litterer, Joseph A., and Cisneros, Raymond. "Managing Mergers and Organizational Change." *Healthcare Financial Management*, October, 1983, pp. 92-104.

Mishek, Mark G., "Ten Reasons Not to Reorganize," *Healthcare Financial Management*, October, 1983, pp. 110-116.

Peters, Joseph and Simone Tseng, "Ten Hospitals Forge New Directions and Strategies," *Healthcare Financial Management*, March, 1984, pp. 25-30.

Sims, Joe, and Grimm, Karen. "Health Planning Activities Test Sherman Act." *Healthcare Financial Management*, July, 1981, pp. 12-24.

Stonehill, Eric and Charles M. Ewell, Ph.D., "Constraints and risks of Corporate Reorganization," *Healthcare Financial Management*, September, 1982, pp. 26-36.

Stuart, Barbara K. and Carole Steele, "Can a Hospital Mean Business?" *Healthcare Financial Management*, December, 1983, pp. 26-28.

Thompson, Martin J., "Responding to the Organizational Revolution." *Healthcare Financial Management*, October, 1982, pp. 13-25.

Tillett, J. William; Linklater, R. Bruce; and Sucher, Randy. "Survey Reveals Trends in Corporate Reorganization." *Healthcare Financial Management*, September, 1982, pp. 38-45.

Wade, William C., and Burns, James A. "Consider Price and Non-price Competitive Elements." *Healthcare Financial Management*, December, 1982, pp. 39-44.

Walker, Stephen R. JD. "New Corporate Structures: A Solution for Financial Pressures?" *Hospital Progress*. February, 1982, pp. 42-43, 54.

Weis, Gary. "Medicare's Tough New Watchdogs," *Barron's*. Vol. LXIV, No. 36, September 3, 1984, pp. 6-7, 27.

Wolman, William, ed., "The Corporate Rx for Medical Costs," *Business Week*, No. 2864 (October 15, 1984), pp. 138-148.

Sir Gawain: The Knight in Rusting Armor

by Alicia Neat

The character of Sir Gawain is one of the most interesting and inconsistent ones in the realm of Arthurian literature. The earliest portrayals of Sir Gawain focus primarily on his extraordinary abilities as a superior knight. In the Welsh story "The Tale of Culhwch and Olwen" of the eleventh century, Gwalchmai (Gawain) helps Culhwch find his beloved Olwen and win her from the Chief Giant. He is identified as Arthur's nephew, who "was the best on foot and the best on horseback" in the kingdom.[1] Little of his personality itself can be gleaned from this description. Furthermore, William of Malmesbury in his book *Deeds of the Kings of Britain* writes of Gawain's being sent by Arthur to see the Roman emperor, Lucius. Gawain gets into an argument with the emperor's nephew and impulsively chops off his head. Nevertheless, Malmesbury notes that Gawain was a fierce fighter in the ensuing war,[2] which seems to compensate—at least, in William of Malmesbury's mind—for Gawain's hotheadedness. It is highly possible that around 1136, when *Deeds of the Kings of Britain* was written, any personality faults that a hero might exhibit would be justified if he were talented enough with a sword. In other words, as T.H. White expressed in *The Once and Future King*, "Might is right."[3] Indeed, these earliest depictions of Sir Gawain are quite similar to that of the Anglo-Saxon hero Beowulf. This is not surprising when one considers that the character Beowulf and the legendary King Arthur and Sir Gawain perportedly lived around the same time, fifth century A.D., and that these written accounts of their deeds were originally transcribed roughly a century apart. Thus, the heroic ideal presented in *Beowulf* and the early Arthurian tales centers around military skill rather than social or spiritual qualities such as loyalty or devoutness.

However, beginning in the fourteenth century heroes had to do more than fight. Women were finally being mentioned in literature, and the idea of "courtly love" and romantic interludes became common. Writers such as Geoffrey Chaucer were tearing away the idealized stereotypes of people in high positions such as the clergy and the nobility and writing about their virtues and their hypocrisies. It was an age of pessimism, where even the most devout people might fall prey to a deadly plague or die during a feudal skirmish. The Middle Ages were also an age of religious fervor, and most of the surviving literature from this period is religious in nature.[4] The character development of Gawain in the

fourteenth and fifteenth centuries reflects both the religious fervor and the pessimism of the time in which the stories and poems were written. At first he represents a flawed but still admirable embodiment of Christian ideals. His flaws, however, become more prominent in later works and lead to a decline of his reputation by the end of the Middle Ages. Hence, although the character of Sir Gawain is based on feudal, Christian ideals, Gawain's character in fifteenth century literature becomes secular and treacherous primarily because of the pervading pessimism of the latter Middle Ages.

In an essay on knighthood in the fourteenth century, Gervase Mathew cited what he felt to be the two most necessary virtues of a knight, prowess and loyalty.[5] The first, military prowess, Gawain excels in even after his reputation in other areas declines and is of little importance in this paper. The second, loyalty, was the foundation for the feudal system, as Alan Markman points out, and is the earmark of the fourteenth and sometimes fifteenth century Gawain.[6] A reading of perhaps the best-loved tale of Sir Gawain, "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight," certainly underscores Gawain's sense of feudal loyalty. First of all, Gawain is loyal to his king, Arthur, when he volunteers to participate in the beheading game on Arthur's behalf. The failure of the rest of Arthur's knights to respond in a similar fashion suggests an absence of allegiance in the Round Table and a crack in the feudal foundation, which contributed not only to the downfall of the feudal system itself but also to Arthur's decline as well. Nonetheless, Gawain remains loyal. He is loyal not only to King Arthur but also to his host, Bercilak. When Bercilak's wife tries to seduce Gawain, he eludes her advances. By accepting her invitation, he would "commit sin and belie his loyal oath to the Lord of that house."[7] Thus, in "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight," Gawain represents the feudal ideal of loyalty, because he is loyal both to Arthur and to Bercilak.

Furthermore, Gawain is presented with Christian traits in both "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight" and "The Turk and Gawain." Perhaps the most obvious example of this in "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight" is when Gawain clothes himself in armor before leaving the court. The inspiration for this lengthy passage seems to come from the Bible in Ephesians 6:11; "Put on all the armor which God provides, so that you may be able to stand firm . . . for our fight is not against human foes, but against cosmic powers . . ."[8] Gawain, whose unknown adversary is the sorceress Morgan Le Fay, wears the religious pentangle of truth on his armor and thus becomes a religious symbol himself. Gawain is also presented as a Christian in the Middle English romance, "The Turk and Gawain." After his dwarf friend overpowers the giant in the story, Gawain gives the King of Men a choice between death and Christianity. The giant spits on Gawain, and he is killed.[9] Gawain's "Christianity or

death" attitude reflects that of the Crusaders a century earlier, and it was probably a popular notion in the fourteenth century as well. At the story's end, Gawain is offered the position of the "King of Men" which he modestly declines.[10] The title itself, the "King of Men" has Christly overtones, and it speaks well of Gawain that he was not tempted by blasphemous ambition. Thus, the poem "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight" and the story "The Turk and Gawain" establish Gawain as both a Christian and a feudal hero.

Nevertheless, even as a Christian and a feudal hero, Gawain is imperfect. Louis B. Hall, editor aand translator of several Arthurian tales, calls Gawain "the most amorous of the knights of the Round Table."[11] Indeed, Gawain's reputation as a lover is mentioned time and time again. Bercilak's wife in "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight" says that she has heard of Gawain's reputation as a lover and goads him into trying to live up to that reputation. However, because of his loyalty to his host and his desire not to sin lest it make him more vulnerable to the forces of evil, Gawain refuses. It is impossible to say if he would behave similarly if he were not in mortal danger. Consequently, Gawain's chastity belies his reputation, and it is that reputation as a lover that will lead to his portrayal as a lecherous knight in later works. Gawain also falls short of Christian ideals when he clings to the green garter to save his life. He abandons the religious pentangle and the spiritual for the necromantic and the temporal. Gawain's imperfections are overwhelmed by his loyalty and bravery in "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight." Unfortunately, Gawain's character flaws become magnified in the fifteenth century.

Gawain's loyalty to his host again tempers his sexual desires in the fifteenth century Welsh poem "Sir Gawain and the Carl of Carlisle." In this poem, Sir Gawain falls in love with the wife of a wicked Carl and desires her. Because of Gawain's courtesy to his animals, the Carl offers Gawain a kiss from his wife. Before Gawain can comply, though, the Carl changes his mind. Instead, he offers Gawain his equally beautiful daughter to bed. Gawain eagerly accepts, without marrying her first. Gawain is no longer bound by loyalty to his host to subdue his passions. He is obviously not an inexperienced lover, either, because the daughter seems quite pleased with his expertise. Gawain marries her at the story's end but only after his premarital sexual encounter with her.[12] Although Sir Gawain still respects the feudal code of fealty, and he does the "honorable thing" by marrying her, he no longer can be assumed to be a representative of ideal Christian virtues such as chastity.

Gawain's feudal loyalty to his king is reiterated in the English story "The Wedding of Sir Gawain and Dame Ragnell." This story is interesting not only because of the loyalty Gawain demonstrates, but also

because it is a little-read analogue to Chaucer's "Wife of Bath's Tale." Therefore, this story merits more of a summary to establish its place in fifteenth century literature. In the story "The Wedding of Sir Gawain and Dame Ragnell," King Arthur is threatened with death unless he can discover what it is that women desire most. On the quest, King Arthur meets an ugly woman who offers him the answer if he will promise her Sir Gawain's hand in marriage. Gawain immediately agrees, and the old hag tells Arthur that what women desire most is dominion over men. Arthur's life is saved, and Gawain marries Dame Ragnell. In their bedchamber, she magically turns into a beautiful woman, and she tells Gawain that he must choose whether she will be beautiful during the day or at night. Sir Gawain wisely says that she should make the choice for him. She rewards him for letting her have dominion by being constantly beautiful. Interestingly, Gawain falls in love with his lovely and clever wife and mourns her death at the end of the story.[13] This story is unusual, because it is a love story between Gawain and a woman. In the majority of Arthurian tales, Gawain seems more physically than emotionally involved with his lovers. Also, Gawain's loyalty to Arthur extends to his marrying a seemingly hideous hag—which some would consider a fate worse than death. It can be accurately stated that in "The Wedding of Sir Gawain and Dame Ragnell," Gawain's character, although less the Christian ideal found in fourteenth century literature, still retains its feudal loyalty and presents a Gawain capable of another emotional attachment, love. Loyalty and affection will be noticeably absent in the following works.

Gawain's character deterioration becomes more evident in the fifteenth century story "The Jeaste of Syr Gawayne." In this story, Gawain is riding through a forest when he comes upon a maiden lying on a bed. He promptly seduces her. Then her father and two of her brothers come along and challenge him to a duel. Gawain defeats each of them easily and then returns to his lovemaking. The reader is prompted to wonder about the scruples of both Sir Gawain and the former maiden, they frolic so blithely between the skirmishes. Before Sir Gawain can defeat the girl's third brother, Sir Brambles, darkness falls, and the two knights call a truce. Sir Gawain, unlike his counterpart in "Sir Gawain and the Carl of Carlisle," does not marry the girl. Instead, he rides away, leaving Sir Brambles beating up his sister for her wanton behavior.[14] Hence, in this story Sir Gawain has no loyalty to anyone but himself and his libido. Rather than using his knightly prowess to defend a maiden's honor, he debauches her himself and fights to keep from having to take the responsibility for his actions. It is obvious, then, that in this story Gawain has lost the last vestiges of the feudal loyalty he displayed earlier, and his waning Christian conscience seems to have disappeared. He has become

a fickle bully rather than an ideal knight.

Nevertheless, Sir Thomas Malory was not satisfied with Gawain's decline in reputation; in *Le Morte D'Arthur*, Gawain is not only a promiscuous hothead, he is a murderer. While Gawain is out chasing a hart in Book Three, Chapter Seven, a man kills two of Gawain's greyhounds. Gawain orders that the man must die for killing his dogs. It seems unlikely that Gawain is really the animal-lover that his order implies, because he and Gaheris just slew the beautiful white hart. So it is more likely that Gawain is just a temperamental tyrant than any concern Gawain feels for the dogs. Anyway, the knight pleads for mercy and promises to repay Gawain for his loss. Gawain refuses to show mercy. Instead of cutting off the head of the knight, however, Gawain cuts off the head of the knight's girlfriend, who self-sacrificingly places her head on top of her lover's. Even Sir Gaheris, who helped Gawain kill the white hart, condemns Gawain's killing a lady by saying that a "knight without mercy is without worship."[15] Hence, the cold, heartless character of Gawain as presented in this portion of *Le Morte D'Arthur* seems not only unworthy of worship, but also unworthy of knighthood. Later in the book, Gawain is ordered by Guinevere to become a champion of women, and he must be merciful to all those who request mercy. It is unfortunate that by the late fifteenth century, Gawain must be ordered to perform knightly good deeds that one expects of a man in his position.

Malory reinforces Gawain's character deficiences in Book Four, Chapter Twenty-one. Here, Gawain promises Sir Pelleas that he will get the Lady Ettard to fall in love with Sir Pelleas. So Sir Gawain goes to the castle and tells Lady Ettard that he has killed Sir Pelleas. Lady Ettard, who is not overly fond of the love-struck Sir Pelleas, then goes to bed with Sir Gawain. When King Pelleas finds them together, he realizes that the traitorous Gawain has violated more than his promise, and he lays a sword across their throats. Upon awakening with Pelleas' sword under her chin, the Lady Ettard realizes that Pelleas is not dead after all. Murderers she can tolerate but not liars, and she strongly encourages Sir Gawain to leave.[16] Gawain's character in this tale seems to have reached the peak of his degeneration; he seems to commit every breach of conduct possible. First, he breaks a promise to a comrade. Secondly, he lies to a lady, and finally, he sleeps with the woman his friend loves, breaking his vow to Guinevere about protecting a lady's honor. Who, one wonders, will protect the ladies from him? Clearly, Malory noted the gradual deterioration of Gawain's character from the ideal knight of the fourteenth century to the promiscuous bully of the fifteenth century and capitalized on it.

The result of Gawain's metamorphosis from spiritual to secular is two-

fold. First of all, in *Le Morte D'Arthur* Gawain does not complete the Grail Quest. Although at the beginning, Gawain is the most eager knight to take up the quest, he soon discovers that he is not worthy of finding the Grail. He meets with a hermit in Book Thirteen, Chapter Sixteen, who tells him that "he has lived mischievously many winters" and has "used the untruest life that ever I [the hermit] heard knight live."[17] In fact, Gawain is so sinful that even Sir Lancelot, the adulterous knight, gets farther on the Grail Quest than he. Malory, who praises Lancelot and Guinevere's love as a true love, seems to be implying that even adultery in the name of love is preferable to Gawain's promiscuousness. The second result of Gawain's decline is that Gawain is no longer Arthur's best knight. This is evident when Lancelot beats a vengeful Gawain twice in a duel. Not only is Gawain too spiritually tarnished by the end of the Middle Ages to achieve the Grail, he is also losing military skill; even in that, he is no longer the best. Hence, he is replaced by another imperfect, but still admirable, knight, Sir Lancelot.

In conclusion, there can be little doubt that the noble character of Sir Gawain degenerated as the Middle Ages waned. Although he was imperfect even as early as the poem "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight," Gawain's human frailties are accentuated to such an extent by later authors that instead of representing the best of humanity, he represents the worst. Perhaps the best explanation for this decline is the pessimistic attitude of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: "the inevitability of change—for the worst, . . . is one of the most insistently repetitive themes of Middle English literature."[18] Therefore, it is not surprising that the character of Gawain in Arthurian literature changes for the worse. Nonetheless, this theory for Gawain's loss of esteem is not the only valid one. Evidently, how the main character in a story is depicted often hinges upon the character of the author himself. However, because little can be found about the authors of the preceding Gawainian tales—most are anonymous—it is easier to show how the tales represent the pessimistic age in which the authors were living. Finally, Gawain's reputation remains static after the Middle Ages, probably because Malory's *Le Morte D'Arthur* is the source many later Arthurian tales are based on. Thus, it is unlikely that Gawain will ever again wear the armor of Christian, feudal ideals.

NOTES

[1]James J. Wilhelm and Laila Zamuelis Gross, eds., *The Romance of Arthur* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1984), p. 38.

[2]Louis B. Hall, ed., *The Knightly Tales of Sir Gawain* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1976), p. 4.

[3]T.H. White, *The Once and Future King* (1939; rpt. New York: Berkely, 1983), p. 225.

[4]M.H. Abrams et al., eds., *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*, 2 vols., 4th ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1962), p. 11.

[5]Gervase Mathew, "Ideals of Knighthood in Late-Fourteenth-Century England," in *Twentieth Century Interpretations of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, ed. Denton Fox (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968), p. 68.

[6]Alan M. Markman, "The Meaning of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight," in *Sir Gawain and Pearl: Critical Essays*, ed. Robert J. Blanch (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1966) pp. 164-165.

[7]"Sir Gawain and the Green Knight," anon., trans. Marie Borroff in *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*, 2 vols., 4th ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1962), p. 283.

[8]*The New English Bible*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 250.

[9]"The Turk and Gawain," anon., in *A Study of Gawain and the Green Knight*, ed. George L. Kittredge (Glouchester, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960), pp. 119-120.

[10]"The Turk and Gawain," in *A Study of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, p. 120.

[11]Hall, *The Knightly Tales of Sir Gawain*, p. 4.

[12]"Sir Gawain and the Carl of Carlisle," anon., in *The Knightly Tales of Sir Gawain*, Louis B. Hall, ed. (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1976), pp. 21-31.

[13]"The Wedding of Sir Gawain and Dame Ragnell," anon., in *The Knightly Tales of Sir Gawain*, Louis B. Hall, ed. (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1976), pp. 159-175.

[14]"An Adventure of Sir Gawain," anon., in *The Knightly Tales of Sir Gawain*, Louis B. Hall, ed. (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1976), pp. 115-125.

[15]Sir Thomas Malory, *Le Morte D'Arthur*, vol. 1, (1969; rpt. New York: Penguin, 1983), p. 102.

[16]Malory, *Le Morte D'Arthur*, vol. 1, pp. 152-157.

[17]Malory, *Le Morte D'Arthur*, vol. 2, p. 266.

[18]M.H. Abrams et al., eds., *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*, 2 vols., 4th ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1962), p. 8.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abrams, M.H. et al., eds. *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*. 2 vols. 4th ed. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1962, pp. 8, 11.

Hall, Louis B., ed. *The Knightly Tales of Sir Gawain*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1976.

Malory, Sir Thomas. *Le Morte D'Arthur*. 2 vols. 1969; rpt. New York: Penguin, 1983.

Markman, Alan M. "The Meaning of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight," in *Sir Gawain and Pearl: Critical Essays*. Ed. Robert J. Blanch. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1966.

Mathew, Gervase. "Ideals of Knighthood in Late-Fourteenth-Century England," in *Twentieth Century Interpretations of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. Ed. Denton Fox. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968, p. 68.

New English Bible. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1971, p. 250.

"Sir Gawain and the Green Knight," Trans. Marie Borroff, in *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*. Ed. M.H. Abrams et al. 2 vols. 4th ed. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1962.

"The Turk and Gawain," in *A Study of Gawain and the Green Knight*. Ed. George L. Kittredge. Glouchester, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1960.

White, T.H. *The Once and Future King*. 1939; rpt. New York: Berkley, 1983, p. 225.

Wilhelm, James J. and Laila Z. Gross, eds. *The Romance of Arthur*. New York: Garland Publishing Co., 1984.

Dominant Theoretical Perspectives in Contemporary Sociology

by Leeann Jolly

Like all of the physical and social sciences, sociology must be based on theory; however, the science of sociology suffers from the same problems as many of the others. A number of different theories are found and many of them are contradictory. There are many different theories that have been accepted in the study of sociology. Functionalism, symbolic interactionism, and conflict theory are three of the major theories of sociology; these will be the major theories discussed in this paper. They are not the only theories used in the study of sociology. Role theory, exchange theory, labelling theory and other theories such as those dealing with demography, labor markets, and human ecology are all found in the sociological journals of today. Occasionally even an anthropological study will appear in a sociology journal. These journals also include many articles which have no theory but are instead comparisons of classic sociological studies, methodological, or statistical.

The task of this paper is to determine whether or not there has been a change in the dominant paradigm in sociology during the five-year period from 1972 through 1976. The paper also addresses the question of whether or not there is a dominant paradigm existing today, or if there are simply a few studies done under each theoretical base, with random fluctuations in the number done from year to year.

The first hypothesis of the research was that functionalism, on the basis of its position as the oldest theory, would be a fairly dominant theory throughout the period. A secondary hypothesis, in view of the social upheaval which had taken place during the 1960s, was that conflict theory would be found at a high point in 1972 and then begin to slowly decrease in prominance toward the end of the period. The decrease in conflict theory should then lead to an increased number of published articles with some other theoretical base. This theory could very easily be functionalism.

The method of research for this paper included determining the theory of each article published in the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW during the years 1972-1976, inclusive. This was done by reading the abstract of every article published in the journal for these years. Often it was necessary to read the hypothesis and conclusions or the entire article. When an article explicitly stated its theory, this theory was coded for the article. Unfortunately few articles explicitly state

their theoretical base. When no theory was stated the theory was determined by looking at the literature review, the hypothesis, the conclusions, and the method of study. In some cases, the theory of the article could be a judgement on the part of the rater. These decisions could be debated by other judges. There were also several articles which had theories that were so ambiguous that any number of judges might disagree.

In the final analysis of the study there were nine categories of theories. These were: symbolic interactionism, functionalism, conflict theory, role theory, exchange theory, labelling theory, no theory, ambiguous theory, and other theories. The first three categories were the theories of main interest because of their tendency to be the most accepted theories by mainstream sociologists. In the symbolic interactionism category were included all of the empirical studies which used as their basis the human capacity to use symbols to communicate. These articles implied that the basis for society was in the ability of the human animal to communicate ideas and thoughts to those around him and thus create the same—functionally not literally—set of ideas in the others. Functionalism consisted of the empirical studies which had as their basis the function of the phenomenon being studied in the creation and maintenance of society. These articles looked at the functions of the phenomenon or institution in society. Conflict theory looks at the structure of society as rising from the conflict between dominant and subordinate groups. These articles consist mainly of those which analyze group conflict which occurs over some aspect of the culture.

There was a set of criteria for inclusion into each of the different categories. There was also a set of secondary criteria for each category. These secondary criteria could, if present, be clues to the theoretical base of the article. Alone they do not prove that the study is of a particular theory nor does their absence indicate that a particular theory is not used. The criteria for each of the categories were as follows.

To be included in the category of symbolic interactionism the article must: state that it is based on symbolic interactionism, or have in its hypothesis or conclusions some statements which—either explicitly or implicitly—are in keeping with the basic premises of the theory. For example, the hypothesis might state that there was an expected relationship of parental value structures on the values of their children. Secondary criteria for labelling a theory as symbolic interactionism include the possible mention of theorists who traditionally used symbolic interactionism or a mention of the study of subjects, such as language, that are characteristically studied from the viewpoint of symbolic interactionism. Symbolic interaction was separated from labelling theory, role theory, and exchange theory. Each of these was treated as a separate theory and became a minor category.

The criteria for inclusion into the category labeled functionalism were much like those required for entry into the symbolic interactionism category. Any empirical study which explicitly stated its theory as functionalism was put in that category. Further if the hypothesis or conclusions explicitly or implicitly included such key words as "the functions of" or "latent or manifest function" the theoretical perspective was listed as functionalism. Secondary criteria for the theory of the study include the mention of theorists such as Parsons, or Merton. References to classic studies of functionalist theories are also good indicators that the theory behind the study may be functionalism. In this paper the category of functionalism includes what some may call theories of stratification because this theory can be considered a part of functionalism.

Conflict theory is characterized by the mention of conflict as the theoretical base or by a hypothesis or conclusion which has in it either explicitly or implicitly the mention of conflicts between two or more established groups or institutions as the basis for a societal phenomenon. The mention of Marx, Blau, or Coser, can be a secondary criterion of the theory. References to landmark studies done on the basis of conflict theory are also good indicators that the basis of the empirical study is conflict theory.

Those articles which were labeled no theory were, for the most part, methodological studies or forms of statistical analysis. Throughout the time period there were a number of articles about methods and statistics. However the category of no theory also included reviews of past works and comparisons of past works and past theorists.

The category of ambiguous theory was used for those articles which were empirical but did not seem to fit in any of the other categories. They seem to have theory behind them but the theory was not easily determined. Any number of judges might categorize them differently.

The category of "other" contained those theories which appeared to be used least often. It included some demography, some labor market theory, and some anthropological theories. The theories could be determined but they were not used often enough for each to warrant its own category. Any given theory did not appear more than twice during the five-year period.

Role theory, exchange theory, and labelling theory were all small categories. Each could be considered a branch of symbolic interaction, but even when added to symbolic interactionism they would not significantly change the results. Role theory consists of those studies which contend that role playing is a part of the method we use to maintain society. They are those theories which stress the part of role

playing in the larger culture. Most of these theories were specifically labeled as role theory. Labelling theory is much like role theory except that its emphasis is on the roles that aggregates of people take based on the labels that they are given. Exchange theory is finally the theory which says that society is based on a trade-off of obligations. The "you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours" idea. When these three theories appeared in the *Journal* they were usually labeled as such. Perhaps because they are not used as often the author feels that he must inform the reader of his perspective. These articles usually have the words labelling theory, role theory, or exchange theory in their title.

It should be obvious to the reader that much of the decision about appropriate categorization was subjective. Many of the articles have in them theoretical perspectives which can be implicitly rather than explicitly understood. Such ambiguity can lead to misinterpretation by the individual judge. Furthermore there may be differences in the major categories as seen by each judge. For example, the category of functionalism might be called structural-functionalism by a second individual. It might be broken down into two or three categories by other raters.

The breakdown of the articles clearly shows that functionalism is the dominant theory throughout the five-year period. This dominance is not as marked as it might appear at first glance. See figure 1. The graphed line showing the rise and fall of functionalism over the five-year period shows a marked fluctuation in the number of articles published each year, but only at one point does the functionalism line cross any other line. The functionalism category stands alone with the exception of 1973 when the category for no theory contains three more articles.

Conflict theory, which had been hypothesized to begin at a high level and then gradually decline, did not show this pattern. It started fairly strong and then moved to a low of three articles in 1974 when functionalism reached its peak of 25 articles. The no theory category reached a peak in 1973 when functionalism hit its low point and afterwards no theory steadily declined. Symbolic interactionism also declined from 11 articles in 1972 to only three in 1975 but this was followed by a jump back to eight in 1976. The category of ambiguous theories showed an interesting jump in 1974 that seems to bear no relationship to the figures in the rest of the chart. The remaining categories are uniformly low with a very slight increase in almost all categories in 1976.

In figure 2 the bar graph shows percentages of each category for the entire five-year period. The graph clearly shows that functionalism is the dominant theory of the five-year period. The second most dominant theory is the category of no theory. However, as we will see in figure 3 when the percentages are broken down by year, the no theory category

begins to lose some of its strength. The three major theories of symbolic interactionism, functionalism, and conflict theory account for 62% of the articles published in AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW in the years 1972-1976. When the articles which were listed as no theory because they were non-empirical are added to the group the figure jumps to 81% of the articles. The remaining 19% is divided into fairly equal proportions among the other categories.

The next logical step with the data is to try to discover the reasons behind the particular fluctuations in the number of articles written with each theoretical base. The hypothesis that functionalism would be the dominant theory could not be rejected; however, there may be some question as to why this occurs. The second hypothesis that conflict theory would begin as a strong and nearly dominant theory can be rejected. Conflict theory does not decline, instead after 1974 it actually seems to be increasing.

It was hypothesized that conflict theory would be in an increased state of interest at the beginning of the 1970s because of the conflicts going on in the United States during the late 1960s and early 1970s. It was expected that the end of the 1960s movement would still be affecting the writers of American sociology at the beginning of the 1970s. As the decade wore on and the movements of the 1960s died out, the conflict theories so appropriate for this period would also die out. But when we look at the data collected for the articles written in this time frame we find that the majority of it are actually at least five to ten years old. On the basis of this, we can see that the data for the year 1968—when the conflict in America seemed to peak—would not be seen in the professional journals until 1973 at the earliest, or 1978 at the latest. This is somewhat explanatory of the decrease and increase in the popularity of conflict theory during the years 1972 to 1976. The data which were being used in these years were just beginning to reflect the state of America during the 1960s. If this is true we could expect to see conflict theory increase until 1978 or 1979.

In doing research of this sort it is very difficult not to let one's own bias slip in. This is of course true for much of the research in the social sciences. However when a subjective task is being carried out by one rater it is often the case that, no matter how hard the rater tries, subjective opinions appear. These opinions may be about the theories or the material to which they are most applicable. For example, if the rater has long believed that labor-management problems belong in the realm of conflict theory then chances are he will see every article which tests some aspect of labor-management as conflict theory.

There is also a possibility of the bias of the journal affecting the percentage of a particular category of article that gets into print. Each

year the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW publishes only a certain number of articles. Some person or group must decide which of the many, many available articles they will print. The older and more established theories such as functionalism, conflict theory, and symbolic interactionism would perhaps be reviewed more favorably than a theory such as human ecology theory. Furthermore, this research points out that there is a grouping effect in the journal. When any article testing labelling theory appeared it was almost always grouped with another labelling theory article, sometimes several. The no theory articles were also grouped. There would be two or three statistical articles—following one after another—all talking about a very similar statistical procedure. This grouping could lead one to believe that, at least occasionally, articles were chosen to be printed because they fit into the group of articles being used and not because of their own value.

The number of articles in the journal is almost constant so that if one category of theories should suddenly drop in number it would lead to a corresponding rise in the number of articles in other categories. This is the case with the 1976 data. The decrease in functionalism and the corresponding increases in the other categories may not be a shifting of the dominant paradigm but simply a lack of adequately written articles based on functionalism in 1976. This was made up for by an increase in the other articles used. The year 1977 might show a tremendous increase in functionalism with the corresponding natural decrease in everything else.

In the final analysis the research done for this paper showed no significant change in the dominance of any one paradigm. Functionalism was consistently higher than the other theories. Though the frequency of conflict theory seems to change it is difficult to tell whether the change is part of a consistent pattern or if it is a random fluctuation in the frequency. The other categories seemed to show only random fluctuations.

While this exercise may be a good start on preliminary research there are many improvements which need to be made before definite conclusions are reached. The sample size of five years, while time consuming, is really not adequate in view of the number of years that AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW has been in print. Furthermore one journal may not give an adequate sample of the articles published in any given year. To have an adequate sample perhaps the researcher could take a random sample of articles from all the articles published in American journals since each journal's first publication. This random sample could be stratified by year. Journals have been published in America for nearly 80 years. A random sample of 50 to 100 articles a year would give a sample size of 4,000 to 8,000 articles, more

than an adequate sample size. This would give the researcher a large and cumbersome sample but it would be much more representative of the trends that the theories are moving through.

The study would also benefit from multiple raters. This would give the different categories some semblence of validity. If the raters could come to agreement on the theory of a particular study then we could have more confidence that the theoretical perspective of the study really was as it was stated. Further each rater should have a stated set of categories to place the study in and a very specific set of guidelines for placing the study in a certain category.

Perhaps a coding system could be created. Each rater could read each article and code the literature review, the hypothesis, the methods, and the conclusions on a scale. This could allow the decision about the theoretical base of each article to be even less subjective.

This research is in the form of a pilot study. As a pilot study it serves its purpose; it shows some possible trends in the dominant theory. Further research may confirm a cyclical rise and fall of the three major theories. It may point out that seemingly random fluctuations in the dominant theory are actually the result of events which are going on in the culture at the time. It could even discover that the fluctuations are random. Further study is necessary to determine which of these is true.

FIGURE 1

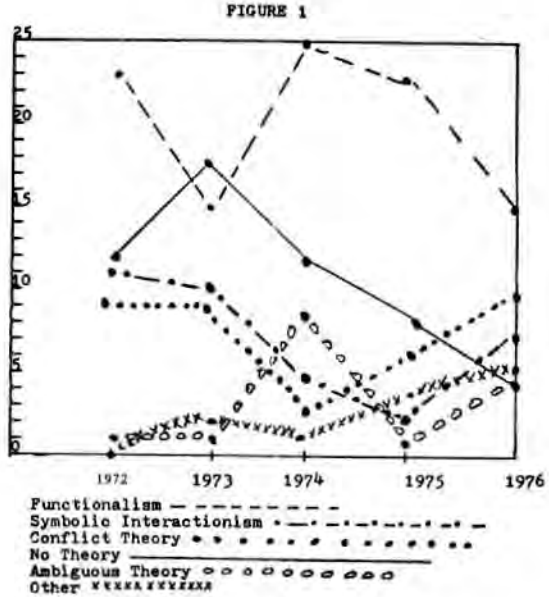


FIGURE 2

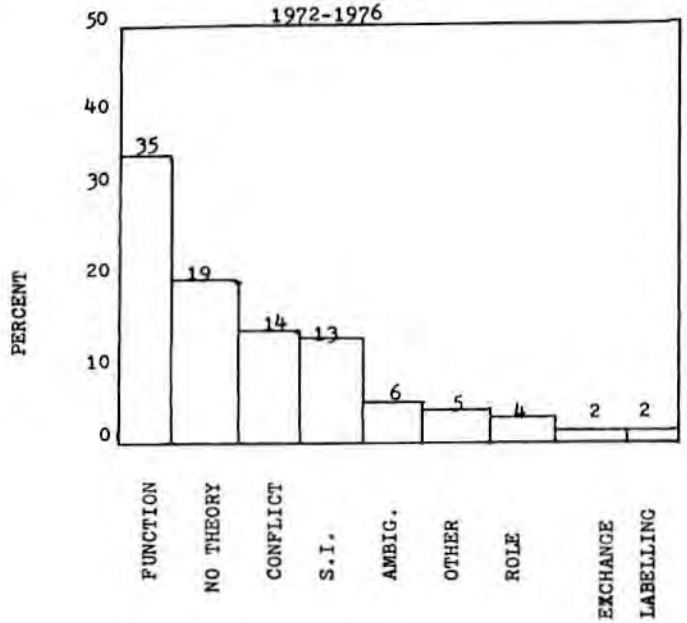


FIGURE 3

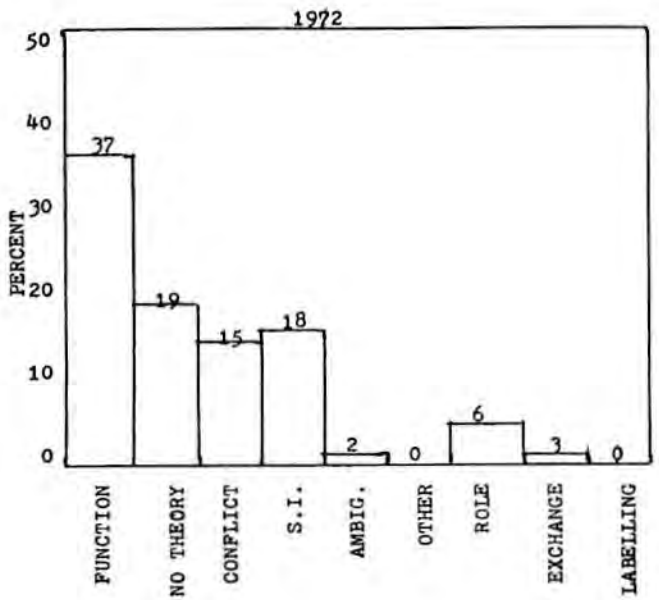


FIGURE 3 (CONTINUED)

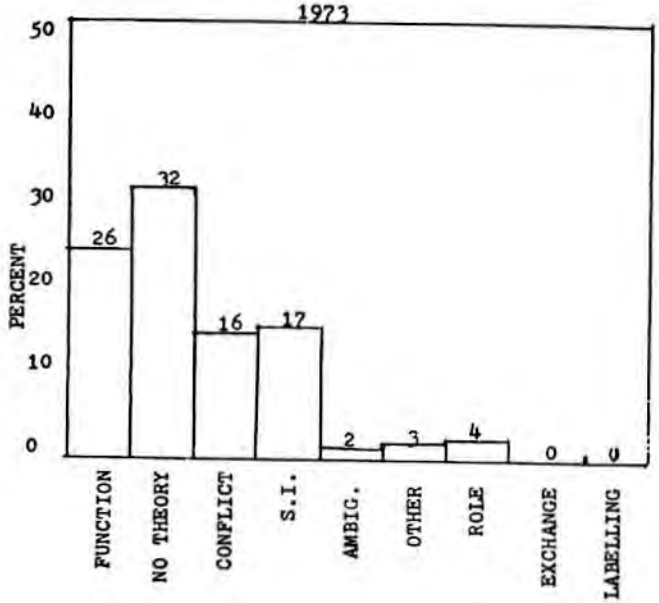


FIGURE 3 (CONTINUED)

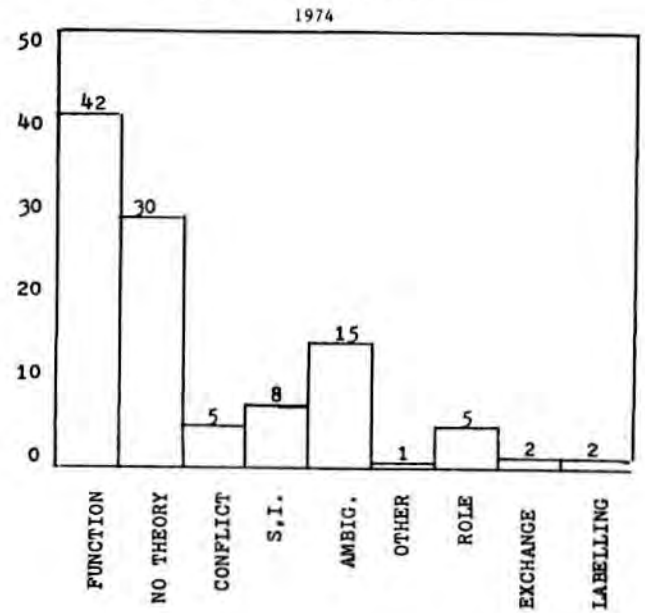


FIGURE 3 (CONTINUED)

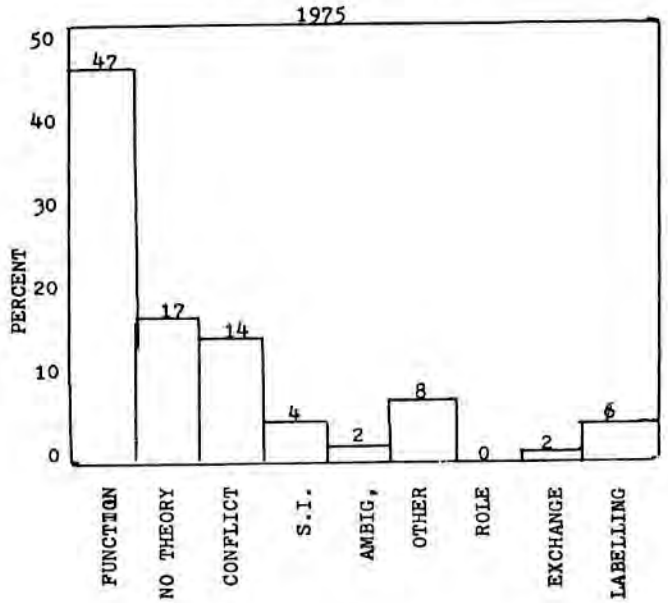
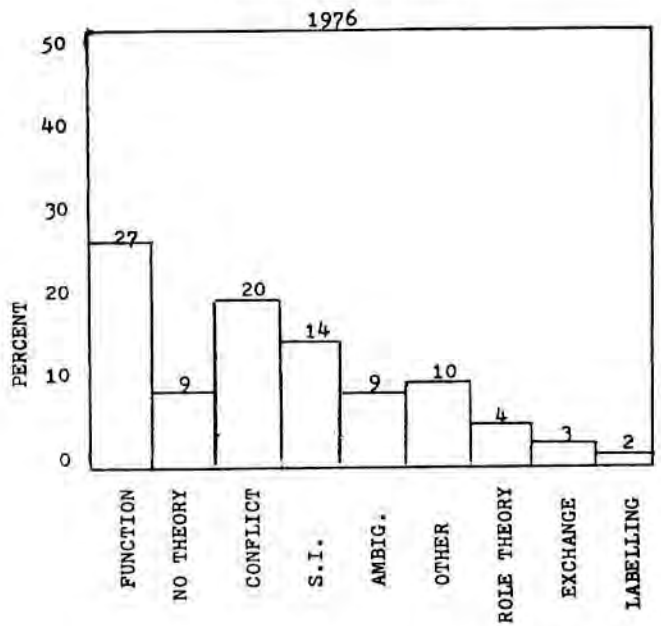


FIGURE 3 (CONTINUED)



Jesse Stuart as Educator

by Mitchell S. McKinney

Jesse Hilton Stuart, born August 8, 1907, in W-Hollow, Kentucky, to Martha and Mitchell Stuart, was one of seven children. Although Jesse Stuart is known more widely for his contributions to literature, he considered himself foremost an educator. Stuart once said, "First, last and always, I am a schoolteacher. I love the firing line of the classroom."[1] His love for the classroom is shown quite clearly through his lifelong commitment to the betterment of education, not only for his people of Eastern Kentucky but for the entire world.

Stuart's love for education began at home with his father. The elder Stuart proclaimed school teaching as the highest profession and set this profession as a goal for his children. Jesse Stuart once stated, "It is the greatest profession under the sun. I don't know of any profession that is more important to the people of this earth."[2] Of the seven Stuart children, four became school teachers.[3]

Jesse Stuart's first school was an old, one-room, log barn at Plum Grove. He attended only twenty-two months and then had to quit and help his father farm. Stuart went back to school at age fifteen at Greenup High School. In order to be admitted, he had to take an entrance examination. The examination consisted of eleven subjects, on which Stuart was required to score sixty points per test. Ironically, Stuart scored a fifty-nine in composition; however, the teachers awarded him the needed point, enabling him to enroll. Stuart called this the "turning point in his life."[4] After only three years at Greenup High School, Stuart was able to receive a teaching certificate. His first teaching job was at a one-room school at Lonesome Valley. His responsibilities there included teaching fifty-four different classes to thirty-five pupils. Stuart remarked on his experiences at Lonesome Valley:

> I had doubted that my second class certificate and my three years in high school qualified me to teach school. But now, when I measured my knowledge with my pupils', I knew without a doubt that I was an educated man. I had never known that youth could be so poorly trained in school as was [sic] my Lonesome Valley Pupils.[5]

After teaching at Lonesome Valley for six months, Stuart decided to go to Landsburg High School to finish his secondary education. After graduation, Stuart found a job at the Auklund Steel Mills, where he worked for a year. This venture allowed him to save the impressive sum of $29.30 and convinced him to continue his education.[6]

In pursuit of higher education, Jesse Stuart left home hitchhiking, with no idea of which college he would attend. The collegiate prospects seemed forbidding. His first arrival at a university frightened him away because of size. The next university approached was financially prohibitive, while the third alternative had a waiting list of a hundred, making admission impossible for at least a year.[7] Stuart remained dedicated to his goal of higher education in spite of his initial failures at finding an institution in which to study.

At last, Stuart gained admission to Lincoln Memorial University at Harrogate, Tennessee. With only his $29.30-savings, he was forced to work at many odd jobs. Even with working, Stuart was able to complete a four-year program in only three years. Recalling life at Lincoln Memorial, Stuart described the dedication his achievement demanded:

> I received $2.00 of help from home. I never received a scholarship. I went to school a half day, worked a half day besides extra work after each meal, drying the pots and pans. And on Sundays I did extra work in the dining room and kitchen and when something went wrong with the plumbing.[8]

After graduating from Lincoln Memorial, Stuart returned home and became the teacher at Winston High School, an old barn that housed fourteen students.

A story that truly shows the commitment of Jesse Stuart comes from his year at Winston. Because the students needed books badly, Stuart made a seventeen-mile walk in a snowstorm to the nearby town of Landsburg. On the way back, he got lost and had to spend the night in a cornfield. Almost freezing, Stuart shielded himself from the cold by pulling fodder shocks around him.[9]

Stuart was doubly rewarded for his efforts when Winston defeated the much larger Landsburg High School in a scholastic contest and he was appointed principal of the Greenup High School—the school from which he graduated only four years earlier. He spent one year at Greenup and then went to Vanderbilt University for a year of graduate work. While at Vanderbilt, he worked as a student janitor and dishwasher. At the end of the year, Stuart had to borrow two dollars for food while hitchhiking home.[10] After arriving home, he spent the next year working his father's farm.

At the age of twenty-four, Stuart encountered his most challenging task. As the youngest superintendent ever to serve in Kentucky, Jesse Stuart became the educational leader of Greenup County Schools.[11] While serving as superintendent, the bank closed and left the school system without funds. As a result, the school system was involved in heavy litigation. Adding to his problems, was a loss of many supporters because of Stuart's crusade for better schools. Stuart acquiesced to

requests for his resignation as superintendent. He was soon employed as principal of McKell High School, where he served for four years. During the summers at McKell, Stuart was a graduate student at Peabody College.[12]

While at McKell, Stuart became a popular speaker and at the end of his fourth year received a Guggenheim Fellowship for creative writing.[13] The Fellowship, of course, meant that he would have to take a leave of absence in order to travel abroad. Upon his return to McKell after fourteen months, Stuart found that his job had been given to the son of one of the board members. Stuart then took a job at the large Portsmouth High School at Portsmouth, Ohio, but stayed only a year, because he did not approve of the "assembly-line methods" there.[14] Stuart devoted his time to writing after leaving Portsmouth High. During this period, Stuart married Naomi Norris, who was also a teacher, and became the father of his only child, Jessica Jane.[15]

Stuart's next position was that of superintendent of Greenup City Schools. This job was interrupted by World War II and his duty as an officer in the Navy. When the war was over, Stuart returned home and continued writing and lecturing. In 1954, because of such a hectic schedule, Jesse Stuart experienced a massive heart attack.[16] After a year of recovery, he returned to McKell High School as principal, but his health allowed him to serve only one year.

Stuart's next move was to the University of Nevada in Reno, where he taught in the Graduate College of Education for a summer. Following this summer, he was invited as a visiting professor to the American University in Cairo, Egypt, and lectured extensively throughout Egypt. The United States State Department was next to capitalize on Stuart's popularity by sending him on a lecture tour around the world, which consisted of 372 appearances. Stuart ended his tour by returning to his farm in W-Hollow, where he dedicated the remainder of his life to writing, lecturing and managing his farm.

Jesse Stuart did much more than simply teach during his many years as an educator. He was a fighter—a fighter for the cause of educational reforms. One of Stuart's most hard-fought battles was the abolishment of the trustee system, a system in which "each little rural schoolteacher had nine bosses: three trustees, five county board members, and the county superintendent."[18] Such a system posed many problems for the teacher, as each boss would endeavor to force his often-unlearned methodology upon the teacher. Stuart's struggle for reform met extreme resistance in an entrenched tradition. Stuart was actually subjected to physical injury in his opposition to the status quo.[19]

Another reform that Stuart undertook was the abolition of the dual school system—the urban and the rural. Stuart wrote, "I could not

understand why high schools have nine months when the rural schools only got six and seven."[20] His opposition to the dual system developed from his philosophy that "the rural schools and the graded schools were the underpinnings of the whole public school system."[21]

Other reforms Stuart recognized as badly needed concerned the improvement of teachers' salaries and the establishment of tenure and pension laws. Stuart wrote in *The Thread That Runs So True* about a teacher who had not been able to save a penny and prayed that when he died he would die quickly, because he feared being sent to the poorhouse.[22] Stuart remarked on the issue of teachers' salaries:

> O hypocritical, shortsighted, ignorant politicians, living in the middle of this twentieth century, allowing schools to remain closed for lack of financial appropriations, perpetuators of continued ignorance and future crime, I at least shall go on record to rebuke you! Tax us. Tax us to death to pay our teachers. Let them work upon immortal minds to brighten them to all eternity. We educate our people or we perish.[23]

Also of primary concern for the improvement of teacher welfare was the enactment of a tenure law. Stuart wrote:

> I had seen teachers—excellent rural teachers—in Greenwood County, pushed from rural school to rural school, pushed completely out of the system, for no good reason, by ignorant school trustees. To have them pushed around, without a justifiable reason, by persons who hadn't the faintest idea what schoolteaching was all about, by school trustees who never had what it takes to make teachers themselves, didn't make sense to me.[24]

Another major renovation introduced by Stuart into the school system came during his term as principal of McKell High School (1932-36). Stuart encouraged students of all ages to attend McKell, enabling many deprived, rural citizens an opportunity to obtain an education. Additionally, and more importantly, rural teachers who were teaching without a high school degree were afforded the opportunity to become high school graduates. At McKell, the student population ranged from eleven years of age to sixty-nine.[25] Stuart's concern for improving school management and teacher education and welfare was the basis for direct improvement in student education.

For Stuart, student education was to be soundly based upon character development. In a letter to the editors of the *Ladies Home Journal*, Stuart said:

> In this second half of the twentieth century, we need to teach that which goes far beyond personal security, a full stomach and a fine automobile. We have boasted too loud and too long about our high standards of living. Shouldn't we aim also, and primarily, for high moral standards, for honesty—in a word, for character? We who are older should set a better example for youth to follow.[26]

In his classroom Stuart placed character above everything. Concerning student character, Stuart wrote, "I would rather have a student with an **A** character and a **C** grade than a student with a **C** character and an **A** grade. Teachers should take time—more time—to stress honesty above everything else."[27]

Jesse Stuart's "schoolteaching philosophy" hinges on the three principles of character, discipline, and hard work.[28] Stuart believed that the best education was one that combined work with play. The curriculum should emphasize freedom, responsibility, and the individual needs of students—gifted, retarded, or average.[29] The philosophy that fulfills Stuart's definition of education is the task of human conservation, in which the most valuable of all resources—youth—is cultivated.[30] Stuart is recognized as an educator who obtained results. It is his unfailing faith in his students that accounts for his remarkable achievement as an educator. Stuart reflected his faith in students when he wrote:

> Modern youth is a river of clear shining water that is flowing endlessly out into a vast new world. Some impure drops are bound to get into the river, but in its constant flow and surge, these impure drops will be purified and hidden in the crystal immensity of the whole. Not any part of young humanity's flow that can be purified should ever be lost.[31] Stuart's vision of the teacher is no less inspiring.

As a teacher, he regarded himself as, "a parent-surrogate." Stuart said, "If you as a parent give me your children, I've just got to treat them as if they were my children."[32] He believed that teachers should be decisive yet patient, firm and loving. These traits all help make the "inspirational teacher" which Stuart described:

> They can teach in a barn, under the shade of an apple tree, beside the stream, or on the mountainside. Bells can tell time for classes to start and stop, and the students won't hear them. Get this kind of teacher, have this kind of teaching, and from the school will come greatness . . . There is not anything on earth, no matter where it is in America or abroad—no matter who the students are, their color of skin, their religion or cultural background—that will take the place of the inspired schoolteacher.[33]

Although Jesse Stuart would not be so egotistic as to label himself an inspirational teacher, his students affirm that he was an exceptional teacher. Robert Lee Tucker, one of Stuart's remedial English students at Portsmouth High School, wrote this salute to Jesse Stuart: "He who took a nameless boy and gave him a name;/ A sightless lad and gave him

eyes;/ A loveless one and gave him warmth;/ Starless and gave him the constellations!"[34] Jesse Stuart records that his greatest experience as a teacher came when he was able to help a student "stand on his own two feet, to have courage and self-reliance, and to find himself when he did not know who he was or where he was going."[35]

Stuart devoted four books to his experiences with education. *Beyond Dark Hills* deals with his educational training as a young boy. *The Thread That Runs So True* covers his teaching career through 1939 and is probably the most widely read of any of Stuart's books; it received the award for most important book of 1949 by the National Education Association. Writing about the award, Stuart said, "This was the greatest honor I have [sic] received—the people of my profession had chosen my book."[36] Stuart dedicated this teacher's bible "To The School Teachers of America." *Mr. Gallion's School*, which is about Stuart's returning to McKell High School and serving as principal, is dedicated to "the ten thousand high school youth who taught me more than I taught them." *To Teach, to Love* serves as a summary of Stuart's lifelong commitment to education and is dedicated, "In fond and grateful memory to all my teachers whose praise was my greatest encouragement."

Jesse Stuart's philosophy of education will endure the test of time. He bases his entire direction upon the positive statement, "Love, a spirit of adventure and excitement, a sense of mission has to get back into the classroom."[37] It will be the continued dedication of educators to this philosophy that will ensure the survival of education at its noblest. As Stuart wrote,

> We've lost something we've got to get back. Not the one-room schoolhouse, but the spirit of the one-room schoolhouse. I am incurably optimistic about young people and have boundless faith in the kind of people who go into teaching. We'll get it back.[38]

The legendary Jesse Hilton Stuart died February 19, 1984, at the age of seventy-six. Although his declining health ended his role as an educator, his interest never waned. He continued to try to improve education through his articles and essays. His voluminous writings for instruction and entertainment have given to the world a special wealth; however, the example of the life he lived as an educator will be an undying role model for all future educators. Stuart succinctly summarizes his own influence, "I will live if my teaching is inspirational, good, and stands firm for good values and character training. Tell me how can good teaching ever die? Good teaching is forever and the teacher is immortal."[39]

NOTES

[1]Shirley Williams, "Appalachian Bard Inspired Thousands," *Courier-Journal*, n.d., n.p.
[2]Ruel E. Foster, *Jesse Stuart* (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1968), p. 34.
[3]Everetta Love Blair, *Jesse Stuart: His Life and Works* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1967), p. 194.
[4]John R. Gilpin, Jr., *The Man Jesse Stuart: Poet, Novelist, Short Story Writer, Educator* (Ashland, Ky.: Economy Printers, 1977), n.p.
[5]Jesse Stuart, *The Thread That Runs So True* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949), p. 9.
[6]Hensley C. Woodbridge, *Jesse Stuart: A Bibliography with Essays* (Harrogate, Tenn.: Lincoln Memorial University Press, 1960), p. xx.
[7]Gilpin, n.p.
[8]Jesse Stuart, "America Is Still the Dream," *The Educational Forum*, 3 (March 1970), 396.
[9]Blair, p. 214.
[10]Woodbridge, p. xix.
[11]Gilpin, n.p.
[12]Gilpin, n.p.
[13]Gilpin, n.p.
[14]Blair, p. 223.
[15]Gilpin, n.p.
[16]Blair, p. 183.
[17]Gilpin, n.p.
[18]Blair, p. 215.
[19]Blair, p. 223.
[20]Blair, p. 215.
[21]Blair, p. 215.
[22]Jesse Stuart, *The Thread That Runs So True* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949), p. 214.
[23]Stuart, p. 284.
[24]Stuart, p. 214.
[25]Blair, p. 221.
[26]Blair, p. 227.
[27]Blair, p. 226.
[28]Blair, p. 227.
[29]Mary Washington Clarke, *Jesse Stuart's Kentucky* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1968), p. 150.
[30]J.R. LeMastre and Mary Washington Clarke, *Jesse Stuart: Essays on His Work* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1977), p. 140.
[31]Blair, p. 206.
[32]"The Poet at Greenup," *Newsweek*, 26 November 1956, p. 95.
[33]"Inspiration: The True Test of Teaching," *Kentucky Education Association Journal*, n.d., n.p.
[34]Robert Lee Tucker, "Salute to Jesse Stuart," *The Educational Forum* (Jan. 1964), p. 170.
[35]LeMaster and Washington, p. 147.
[36]Blair, p. 210.
[37]Jesse Stuart, *To Teach, to Love* (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1970), p. 8.
[38]Stuart, p. 315.
[39]Jesse Stuart, *The Thread That Runs So True* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949), p. 9.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Blair, Everetta Love. *Jesse Stuart: His Life and Works*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1967.
Clarke, Mary Washington. *Jesse Stuart's Kentucky*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968.
Foster, Ruel E. *Jesse Stuart*. New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1968.
Gilpin, John R. Jr. *The Man Jesse Stuart: Poet, Novelist, Short Story Writer, Educator*. Ashland, Ky.: Economy Printers, 1977.
"Inspiration . . . The True Test of Teaching." *Kentucky Education Association Journal*, n.d., n.p.
LeMaster, J.R., and Mary Washington Clarke. *Jesse Stuart: Essays on His Work*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1977.
Stuart, Jesse. *The Thread That Runs So True*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949.
Stuart, Jesse. *To Teach, to Love*. New York: The World Publishing Company, 1970.
Stuart, Jesse. "America Is Still The Dream." *The Educational Forum*, 3 (March 1970), 396.
Tucker, Robert Lee. "Salute to Jesse Stuart." *The Educational Forum*, (Jan. 1964), 170.
"The Poet at Greenup." *Newsweek*, 26 Nov. 1956, p. 95.
Williams, Shirley. "Appalachian Bard Inspired Thousands." *Courier-Journal*, n.d., n.p.

Christians and Jews Through the Middle Ages: An Unbalanced Memory

by Nate Yoder

When Vatican II approved the "Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions," the document was noted as much for what it excluded as for what it explicitly stated. Some members of the Council wanted a specific confession for past violence against the Jews and an official ecclesiastical pronouncement against the idea that Jews were guilty of deicide—the murder of God in the crucifixion of Jesus. The closest the document came to such a pronouncement was its statement: "[The Church] deplores the hatred, persecutions, and displays of anti-Semitism directed against the Jews at any time and from any source."[1] Even though it was vague, this was a clear break from the policies of former centuries when the Church supported the subjugation of the Jews. Jewish scholars, in fact, suggest that from the fourth to the twentieth centuries conditions were so bad for the Jews in Christian Europe that less than 20% of them were able to survive as Jews.[2] And in his introduction to the book he wrote after Vatican II, Frederick M. Schweitzer wrote, "Somehow . . . a mistaken or misinterpreted theology was substituted for the right one, with the consequence that the history of Jewish-Christian relations is much more a chronicle of one community's inhumanity to its neighbor than of the love, kindliness, and respect which ought to obtain between two peoples who share and revere the same sacred book."[3]

A key in how scholars interpret the origins of this inhumanity is their view of the New Testament accounts. Traditionally Christians have accepted these accounts as historically accurate and have blamed the Jews for wrongs ranging from the crucifixion of Jesus and the stoning of Stephen to what Philip Schaff has called "obstinate unbelief and bitter hatred of the gospel." This view suggests that the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70 was fitting justice for the Jews.[4] Another explanation which faults the Jews with rejecting the Christians is offered by F.F. Bruce. He believes that when Christians refused to join the Bar-Kokba rebellion because they would claim no Messiah besides Jesus, the non-Christian Jews severely persecuted them. When the revolt failed in A.D. 135 and all Jews were forced to leave Jerusalem, the breaks both between the Jewish and Gentile Christians and between the Christian and non-Christian Jews became complete.[5]

Historians, especially Jews, who are critical of the traditional Christian

perspective, argue that animosity came first from the Christians and that anti-Semitism is rooted in the Gospels and the letters of Paul.[6] One such explanation notes that with the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D., it was to the Christians' advantage not to be identified with the Jews; thus, the Christians developed the tradition of the Jerusalem church moving to a Transjordan Gentile city before the rebellion. This tradition cleared the Christians of violence against Rome; it also explained the destruction of Jerusalem as both the fulfillment of Jesus' prophesy and the punishment of the Jews for their participation in his death.[7] Another explanation is that the fathers of the early church intentionally separated themselves from the Jews to establish a separate Christian identity.[8] Others argue that the Jews pulled away from the Christians, not out of animosity, but out of a need to re-establish their solidarity as a religion. According to this view, the Christians' resentment over being rejected was their motive for writing the Gospels with an anti-Jewish bias.[9]

There are two serious problems with the premise that the documents which later became the New Testament were written from animosity towards the Jews. First, this view ignores the affection and debt which writers like Paul express for their Jewish heritage. Second, this premise is based on the unproven assumption that the biases which affected later readers of the text also colored the perspective of the writers of the text. An accurate record of the writing of the text must focus on the events of the writing rather than making inferences based on the actions of later readers. This paper procedes on the premise that the New Testament does accurately record the life of Jesus and the beginning of the Christian Church.[10] However, to say that certain Jewish leaders played a leading role in the crucifixion of Jesus is not to say that violence against all Jews, either then or since, can be justified. Christians so frequently remembered the Jews' cry "His blood be on us and our children" and forgot Jesus' prayer "Father, forgive them." This paper's focus is on the causes and results of this inconsistent memory in the Western Church through the first fifteen centuries of the Christian era.

Members of the church in the first century clearly felt their Jewish roots. The Old Testament was their only scripture; the Gospel was often preached in the temple and the synagogues; and all the initial leaders were Jewish. Missionary efforts were directed first to Jews, and the Church's identity as a Jewish sect gave the Christians protection under Roman rule. Even though Gentile converts were not required to fulfill the Jewish law after the conference at Jerusalem in 49 A.D., Paul reminded them of their debt to the Jewish heritage. He regularly preached and prayed for the Jews' salvation.[11]

Certainly, many factors contributed to the change which occurred within the next few centuries. During the apostolic age, tensions over whether Christians needed to follow the Jewish law became apparent. Paul and other Christians had hoped for large-scale conversion of the Jews; instead, most Jews became more resistant to the Christian message. And this message itself implied an incompleteness in the Jewish faith. That Jews continued to deny Jesus' divinity and resurrection was annoying to the Christians; that Christians insisted that Jesus was the Messiah foretold by the Old Testament prophets hardened the Jews' resolve. Christians even speculated that the Jew's rejection of Christ, especially their role in condemning him, had irreversibly damned them. In the third century Origen wrote, "We say in confidence that they will never be restored to their former condition, for they committed a crime of the most unhallowed kind in conspiring against the Saviour of the human race."[12]

Many of the Jews who accepted the Christian message tried to blend the law of their past with their new faith. This was the issue which Paul addressed in his letter to the Galatians:

> Did you receive the Spirit by observing the law, or by believing what you heard? Are you so foolish? After beginning with the Spirit, are you now trying to attain your goal by human effort?[13]

The problem of Judaizing Christians continued after Christianity became the religion of the empire in 380; the church contained many "demi-Christians" whose true allegiance was to Judaism or paganism. To combat the attraction of these religions, John Chrysostom (347-407) wrote some of the most incendiary anti-Jewish propoganda issued before the Crusades. The Jews, he wrote, were "pitiable and miserable"; they would never regain their city or rebuild their temple. He asked, "Is it not obvious that [God] hated you and turned His back on you once and for all?"[14]

Besides wanting to uphold the law, some of the Jewish Christians held heretical notions of who Jesus was. For example, the Ebionites embraced an adoptionist Christology. They believed Jesus was born as a natural man and that the Father had adopted Him as the Messiah when the dove descended at the baptism by John. The Ebionites also rejected Paul as an apostate and heretic because of his arguments that the Jewish law had been superceded.[15] Justin Martyr was probably referring to such groups when he told Trypho of men "who pretend to be Christians and admit the crucified Jesus as their Lord and Christ, yet profess not His doctrines, but those of the spirits of error."[16]

The dialogue between Justin and the Jew Trypho is a most interesting part of the record of early Jewish-Christian relations. It seems Trypho was a refugee in Ephesus who had escaped from the Bar Kokba revolt in 135 A.D. He and Justin spent two days discussing their religious views. Justin argued that of all groups of people, the Jews had treated the

Christians most unfairly: "You not only failed to feel remorse for your evil deed [the crucifixion], but you even dispatched certain picked men from Jerusalem to every land, to report the outbreak of the godless heresy of the Christians and to spread those ugly rumors against us which are repeated by those who do not know us." Yet the two men parted on friendly terms, Trypho suggesting that they could profit from further study together.[17] Had the spirit between all Jews and Christians been this cordial, the rest of this paper would read quite differently. However, tensions had already been mounting for some time; when Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, burned at the stake in 156, Jewish hatred helped to fan the fires.[18]

With Constantine's conversion to Christianity and his elimination of secular rivals, the Jews came under the Christian state's power as well as ecclesiastical influence. Based on the Jews' past history of conflict with the empire, one could argue that under the Christian state their position improved, at least temporarily. No Christian emperor ever subjected them to the humiliation or brutality of the raids which ended in 70 and 135. On the other hand, the Jews may have been so thoroughly suppressed that they no longer had any strength with which to revolt.[19]

Constantine's reign marked the beginning of a dual imperial policy toward the Jews which continued in the Germanic kingdoms when they adopted the Roman system of law. Under this dual policy the Jews had certain legal protections, but they were clearly second-class members of society. Both emperors and popes tried to protect the Jews from forced conversions, yet they frequently reminded them of their sins. Almost three centuries later, Pope Gregory (590-604) summarized this position: "Just as license must not be granted to the Jews to presume to do in their synagogues more than the law permits them, so they should not suffer curtailment in that which has been conceded to them."[20] Although the Jews had forfeited many of their rights in their repudiation of Jesus, full justice would be meted out only at his second coming. The Jews were to be allowed to live, albeit miserably.

Much of Constantine's legislation promoted the miseries which Christians believed the Jews deserved. He declared Judaism a sect and forbade Jewish proselytizing. If Jews, however, wished to convert to Christianity, it was illegal for others to discourage them.[21] Apparently, the emperor wanted to force a clear distinction between Jews and Christians; they were not allowed to banquet together or to intermarry. To the Christians, he declared, "Henceforth, let us have nothing in common with this odious people; our Saviour has shown us another path."[22] The efforts of Christian authorities to separate from Jewish practices was strengthened by the emperor's declaration that Sunday be a day of rest. Since the Jews also observed their Sabbath, they were

economically handicapped by not working two days each week. Later in the century, Jewish violations of these laws carried the penalty of death by burning. Jews were barred from participating in the military, practicing in professions like medicine, and trading on the slave market; they could neither repair their old synagogues nor build new ones.[23]

With few exceptions, later emperors and Germanic kings followed Constantine's example in dealing with the Jews. Julian (361-363), called the Apostate by the Christians, tried to return Roman religion to her pagan origins. Seemingly in an effort to antagonize the Christians, he relaxed anti-Jewish legislation and promised the Jews the freedom to rebuild their temple. However, he died without fulfilling this promise.[24] Theodoric, the Ostrogothic king of Italy (480s-526), went out of his way to protect the Jews' legal rights. Both he and the local bishop tried to defend the Jews in Ravenna from violence; still, a mob burned synagogues and forcibly baptized Jews. When the victims appealed for justice, Theodoric ordered restitution including reconstruction of the synagogues. The reason for this favorable treatment may have been the compatibility between the Jews' monotheism and the king's Arianism.[25] Several centuries later, Charlemagne (742-814) had reasons besides theology for accommodating Jewish interests. He wanted the economic benefits of Jewish traders and merchants from Moslem lands, and he recognized the value of Jewish scholarship, especially in the Hebrew language and the process of translation.[26]

In medieval Europe, such periods of preferred treatment for the Jews were exceptions, but so were incidents of open violence, at least before 1000 A.D. The centuries of the Crusades, the Black Death, and the Spanish Inquisition, however, presented a spectacle of horrors and atrocities. Forced baptisms and banishment, severe measures in the earlier centuries, frequently gave way to massacre. Yet this violence was not officially sanctioned. As Salo W. Baron has noted, "Despite the tremendous bloodshed from 1096-1391, we can find no instance of governmentally-instigated pogroms."[27] None of the disciplined armies which went on the Crusades attacked European Jews, and some kings openly promised them protection.[28] With the possible exceptions of Eugienius III (1145-1153) and Innocent III (1198-1216), all the popes also condemned anti-Jewish violence. Of all Europe's cities, only Rome has had a continuous Jewish community since ancient times, possibly a testimony to papal peacemaking.[29]

Admittedly, the line between the popes' support of the Crusades and their condemnation of anti-Jewish violence was thin at times. In Urban II's speech which preceded the First Crusade in 1095, he called for the recapture of Jerusalem. Assuming the Church to have replaced Israel in God's plan, he said this was the land "given by God into possession of the

children of Israel." Such a reference would produce the sort of "Christian Zionism" which marked the Crusades.[30] Another example of papal activism was the authorization which Honorius III (1216-1227) gave the Dominicans to censor books and burn heretical Jewish materials. The friars were so thorough that even today few ancient manuscripts of the Talmud remain.[31]

Innocent III, Honorius' predecessor ruled while the papacy was at the height of its power; he was a good example of what Schweitzer has called a "historiographical antithesis." His pontificate represented a historical high point for Christians; it meant further suffering for the Jews.[32] Innocent liked to use the of analogy of the Jews being like Cain—wandering the earth under the yoke of guilt, hoping for a final redemption. Having continued the dual policy of protecting the Jews' lives but little more, his reputation as a ruthless persecutor stems more from his efficiency than from new levels of cruelty. He also presided over a council which placed further restrictions on the Jews.[33]

The Fourth Lateran Council (1215) followed the logic which Thomas Aquinas (1225-74) enunciated later in the century: "Because of their sins [the Jews] are subject to perpetual servitude, and their goods are at the disposition of the ruler; only he must not take from them so much that they are deprived of the means of life."[34] The council excluded the Jews from all civil offices and ordered them to stay in seclusion during passion week. To avoid unknowing contact with Christians, they were to wear distinctive dress. Later in the century, Edward I ordered that for all Jews over the age of seven in England this be a yellow patch; King Louis IX of France insisted on red or saffron. Also at this time, Jews were forbidden to sell meat publicly, to employ Christian physicians, nurses, or servants, or to have Christian guests at weddings or funerals.[35]

Popes and councils were not the only members of the religious community who concerned themselves with the Jews; some of the key figures in the crusading effort were monks. Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny (1122-57), wrote "A Tract Against the Inveterate Hardness of the Jews" in which he argued that Peter, using the sword of Goliath, would "cleave [the Jew's] blasphemous head in twain" for his obstinance. And to his king, Louis VII of France, who helped lead the Second Crusade in 1147, Peter wrote:

> What would it profit to fight against enemies of the cross in remote lands, while the wicked Jews, who blaspheme Christ, and who are much worse than the Saracens [Moslems], go free and unpunished. Much more are the Jews to be execrated and hated than the Saracens; for the latter accept the birth from the Virgin, but the Jews deny it, and blaspheme that doctrine and all Christian mysteries. God does not want them to be wholly exterminated, but to be kept like the fraticide Cain, for still more severe torment and disgrace. In this way God's most just severity had dealt with the Jews from the time of Christ's passion, and will continue to deal with them to the end of the world, for they are accursed, and deserve to be.[36]

About the same time, a monk named Radulf was preaching similar ideas and actually led a pogrom in Germany. When Bernard, abbot of the Cistercian monastery at Clairvaux and a major force behind the Second Crusade, heard Radulf's message, he openly refuted it. In a letter to Archbishop Henry of Mainz, he argued that the Church would be much more successful if she converted Jews than "if she once and for all should slay them by the edge of the sword."[37] He cited three abuses by Radulf: his abuse of the preaching role, his disregard for the bishop's denunciation of pogroms, and his approval of murder.[38] Bernard went so far as to meet Radulf in person, and it took the full force of his reputation to subdue the passions already stirred among the populace. In spite of voices like Bernard's, wholesale slaughter of Jews continued in the Rhine region. Given the options of conversion or death, many Jews took their own lives, husbands even killing their wives and mothers their children to spare them the violence of the mobs.[39]

In the face of such prejudices, converts to Judaism were virtually unheard of, but the case of an anonymous French Proselytess does provide a perspective on suffering at the personal level. When this lady decided to convert to Judaism—whether out of religious conviction or romantic love—she fled to Narbonne where she married a Jew. Forced to flee again by her family's search for her, the couple settled in a small Jewish community where they lived peacefully for six years. Then, during a pogrom in the wake of the First Crusade, non-Jews killed her husband and took her two oldest children. Left with an infant child, she fled to the East, seeking a Jewish community able to care for her.[40]

The suspicions which would prompt a group of citizens to turn violently upon their Jewish neighbors were caused by many of the same things which prompted the Romans' suspicions of the early Christians—social exclusiveness, secretiveness, and religious rituals. The spirit of the Crusades heightened the sense of religious loyalty and intolerance for the "perfidious"—a term frequently applied to the Jews. Probably the ghastliest charge was that Jews crucified Christian boys for rituals such as the Passover. Such accounts date from as early as the fifth century when the synagogues in a Syrian town were confiscated on charges of drunken Jews hanging a boy on a cross and scourging him to death during Purim.[41] In the fervor of the crusading spirit, Englishmen memorized the names of four supposed victims between 1144 and 1255. In the incident of 1255, eighteen Jews were hanged in revenge; usually

the richest Jews of a region were the first victims.[42] On May 26, 1171, thirty-some Jews in Blois, France, were burned to death on a similar charge. The rumor began when a Christian servant met a Jew who was carrying untanned skins. When a loose skin scared the servant's horse, he returned to his master with a tale of a Jew carrying the corpse of a Christian child. The master's personal grudges and the community's prejudices led to the annihilation of the entire Jewish community; adults were burned or imprisoned and children were forced to convert.[43] As in this case, violence could occur even if there was no body as evidence. In Spain, the story circulated of a victim who had resurrected and been bodily transported to heaven. In an effort to restore sanity, Pope Innocent IV, in 1247, openly rejected the charges that Jews were guilty of such butchery and threatened to excommunicate Christians who persecuted them.[44]

Christians also accused the Jews of stealing and desecrating the host used in the mass. In 1298, the story of such sacrilege in a small German town led to a wave of violence across Bavaria and Austria in which 140 Jewish communities were sacked and 100,000 Jews were killed. Germany had become the center of the worst such violence, and as the Holy Roman Emperor's power declined, local violence increased. From 1336 to 1338, a group openly called themselves the *Judenschlager*, "the slayers of the Jews."[45]

The Black Death of 1348 and 1349 excited further passions. Mobs, roaming the countryside beyond the control of the authorities, sought to appease God through penance such as mass flagellations.[46] In such a volatile atmosphere, blaming the Jews was all too easy. Some scholars believe that because of the Jews adherence to their laws of cleanliness and hygiene, they did not suffer like the rest of the population.[47] In Spain, southern France, and Germany, Jews were accused of poisoning the water supply, and, by using torture, the officials could extract confessions as a basis for persecution. At Strasbourg, for example, of the 2,000 Jewish inhabitants, those who would not accept baptism were burned in their own cemetery.[48]

That religious intolerance, ethnic prejudice, and fearful superstition prompted much of this violence seems evident; probably even more tangible is one further cause—greed and economic jealousy. As early as the fourth century, councils, including the one at Nicaea, prohibited the charging of interest—or usury—on loans. Church fathers like Tertullian, Cyprian, Jerome, Augustine, and Leo I all condemned it as well, and Gratian included the prohibition in his canon law of the twelfth century. Alexander III, at the Third Lateran Council in 1179, and Clement V, at the council of Vienna in 1311, pronounced usury unscriptural, heretical, and sinful. Such was the religious background

to the question; there were also economic realities. Since Christians could not charge interest, they had no incentive to loan money; therefore, merchants needing funds were forced to borrow from the Jews, whose average rate of interest was 43% per annum and went as high as 80%. Under such rates, one can easily imagine the appeal when Eugenius III promised all participants in the Second Crusade an exemption from paying interest on loans to Jewish creditors. Even the Church depended on Jewish money. Aaron of London (d. 1187) held mortgages on nine Cistercian convents and claimed to have provided the money for building the Cathedral of St. Albans.[49]

During periods of peace, the Jews had a knack for prospering, and Christians resented their ostentatious exhibitions of wealth. During Richard the Lion-Hearted's reign in England, debtors resorted to violence against their Jewish creditors. Since the Jews were important to the king's financial security, he established the Exchequer of the Jews to protect their economic interests.[50] Although such examples of violence specifically for economic reasons were rare, commercial jealousies contributed to other outbursts. As already noted, usually the richest Jews were the first victims. Certainly, kings were aware of the value of property which could be confiscated, and debtors would gladly use violence to gain relief from oppressive interest payments.

Protecting at least the lives of the Jews was official policy during the time of the Crusades; with the Spanish Inquisition of the late fifteenth century, that changed. Under the Moors, Spain had been the "golden age of post-biblical Jewish history," but as the Christians regained the region, they forced many Moslems and Jews into baptism. By 1391, there were 200,000 of these "New Christians," baptized but often secretly loyal to their native religions. Many of these Jews were prominent in society (King Ferdinand's great-grandmother had been one), and this complicated matters. Ferdinand's wife, Queen Isabella, was determined to restore her brand of pure Christianity to Spain, and in 1478, the Pope approved the Spanish Inquisition as an arm of the state. Then in 1492, besides sending Columbus to America, the Spanish drove the last Moors from Granada and expelled all Jews who would not accept baptism.[51]

Probably the most prominent Jew in the country was Issac Abarbanel (1437-1508), who had served under kings in Portugal and Spain. Almost, Abarbanel persuaded Ferdinand to accept a ransom instead of expelling the Jews. When Tomas de Torquemada, the Dominican who gave the Inquisition its "spirit of calm ruthlessness, glacial persistance, and slaughterhouse efficiency," heard of this, he made a most dramatic appeal of his own. Bursting into the king's presence carrying a silver crucifix, he demanded:

> Behold the Crucified Whom the accursed Judas Iscariot sold for thirty pieces of silver. Your Majesties are about to sell Him for 30,000 ducats. Here He is. Take Him and sell Him. I resign my post. No one shall impute this guilt to me. You, however, shall have to answer to your God.

To complete his dramatic effort, Torquemada threw the crucifix at the king and disappeared.[52] Such passion convinced the king, and during the summer of 1492, between 170,000 and 400,000 Jews left the country.[53]

Unfortunately for the Jews, the Inquisition was not the end of their suffering. Ahead lay the restrictions of the ghetto system, the turmoil of the French Revolution, and the horrors of Nazi Germany. And even today, prejudices die hard. At Vatican II, some of the old questions re-emerged: Does being faithful to one's religion mean needing to condemn other religions? or How much room is there for dialogue on matters spelled out by an accepted authority? Even though the bishops did not answer these questions fully, they did accept options more in tune with the spirit of Jesus than some of those their predecessors had chosen. Hopefully, the Christian Church is balancing its perspective by hearing the "Father forgive them" as well as the "His blood be on us."

NOTES

[1]S.J. Abbott, ed., *The Documents of Vatican II*, trans. Joseph Gallaghen (New York: The American Press, 1962), pp. 666-67. For a discussion of the controversy behind the document's formulation, see Arthur Gilbert, *The Vatican Council and the Jews* (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1962).

[2]Gilbert, p. 19.

[3]Frederick M. Schweitzer, *A History of the Jews Since the First Century A.D.* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1971), p. 13.

[4]Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. 2: *Ante-Nicene Christianity* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910; reprint ed., Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1962), pp. 36-39.

[5]F.F. Bruce, *The Spreading Flame* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1958), p. 272. See also Lawrence H. Schiffman, "At the Crossroads: Tannaitic Perspectives on the Jewish-Christian Schism," in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, vol. 2, ed. E.P. Sanders, A.I. Baumgarter, and Alan Mendelson (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), pp. 155-56. Writing from a Jewish perspective, Schiffman agrees with Bruce that the revolt of 135 was the breaking point between Judaism and Christianity; however, he believes this was because the Jews saw that the Christians no longer fit the definition of Judaism rather than because they were hostile to the new religion.

[6]This perspective generally discredits the textual and historical reliability of the New Testament. For example, Michael Grant, *The Jews in the Roman World* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), denies the traditional authorship of all the synoptic Gospels and sees Paul's letters as interpolations of later conturies to justify existing prejudices. The discussion of the formulation of the Gospels in Ernest L. Abel, *The Roots of Anti-Semitism* (London: Associated University Presses, 1975), pp. 117-38, is a good example of the socio-

logical assumptions used from this perspective. For further discussion of the proponents of this viewpoint, see Gilbert, pp. 6-9; and Leon Poliakov, *The History of Anti-Semitism*, trans. Richard Howard, vol. 1: *From the Time of Christ to the Court Jews* (New York: The Vanguard Press, Inc., 1965), pp. 17-19.

[7]Grant, pp. 210-211.

[8]Schweitzer, p. 71.

[9]Abel, pp. 131-34.

[10]For a book-length treatment of the historical reliability of the New Testament documents, see F.F. Bruce, *The New Testament Documents: Are They Reliable?* 5th ed. (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1960).

[11]Acts 11 and 15; Romans 10 and 11. See also Bruce, *Spreading Flame*, pp. 106-11.

[12]quoted in Gilbert, p. 14.

[13]Galatians 3:1-3.

[14]Paul W. Harkins, trans., *Saint John Chrysostom*, ed. by Hermigild Dressler, vol. 68 in *The Fathers of the Church*, (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1977), pp. 160, xxx, 5, 182.

[15]Schaff, vol. 2, pp. 432-34; Bruce, *Spreading Flame*, pp. 279-82.

[16]Thomas B. Falls, trans. *Saint Justin Martyr*, ed. by Ludwig Schopp, vol. 6 in *The Fathers of the Church*, (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1965), p. 200.

[17]Ibid., pp. 139, 172, 365.

[18]Bruce, *Spreading Flame*, p. 279.

[19]There was a small Jewish revolt in Diocaesarea, Palestine, in 355. When suppressed, the Jews were massacred and the town destroyed. Abel, p. 177. For a history of Roman and Jewish violence against each other, see Abel, pp. 71-97, 139-50; and Grant, pp. 149-50.

[20]quoted in Schweitzer, p. 77. See also p. 74; and Grant, p. 285.

[21]Jacob R. Marcus, *The Jew in the Medieval World: A Source Book, 315-1791* (Cincinnati: The Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1938), p. 4.

[22]quoted in Gilbert, p. 15.

[23]Schweitzer, pp. 73-74.

[24]Marcus, pp. 9-10; Abel, pp. 155-57; Schweitzer, p. 74.

[25]Schweitzer, pp. 75-76; Abel, pp. 185-86.

[26]Schweitzer, pp. 81-82.

[27]Salo W. Baron, "The Jewish Factor in Medieval Civilization," in *Medieval Jewish Life*, ed. Robert Chazan (New York: KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1976), p. 45.

[28]Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), pp. 50-51.

[29]Schweitzer, p. 77. This observation must be qualified by another one. Rome was also the last major European city to grant Jews full freedom and citizenship. The city maintained a Jewish ghetto until 1870. Gilbert, p. 22.

[30]quoted in Schweitzer, p. 70. For an account of atrocities against the Jews at the time of the First Crusade, see Poliakov, 41-46.

[31]Schweitzer, p. 90; Baron, p. 46.

[32]Schweitzer, pp. 14, 69.

[33]Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. 5: *The Middle Ages: From Gregory VII, 1049, to Boniface VIII, 1294* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907; reprinted ed., Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1960), pp. 155, 445, 447.

[34]quoted in R.W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1970), p. 17.

[35]Schaff, vol. 5, pp. 446-47. For the text of a Spanish law code from 1265 which prescribed dress for Jews, see Marcus, pp. 39-40.

[36]quoted in Schaff, vol. 5, pp. 456, 447.

[37]quoted in Ibid., p. 448.

[38]Russell, p. 52.

[39]Schaff, vol. 5, p. 448; Russell, pp. 49-51.

[40]Norman Golb, "New Light on the Persecution of French Jews at the Time of the First Crusade," in *Medieval Jewish Life*, ed. Robert Chazan (New York: KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1976), pp. 289-90. For several other accounts of conversions to Judaism, see Russell, pp. 167-70. For the text of a Spanish code of 1265 which demanded death and the confiscation of property for anyone converting to Judaism, see Marcus, p. 38.

[41]Abel, 179. For further discussion of violence on such charges, see Poliakov, pp. 56-64.

[42]Schaff, vol. 2, pp. 443, 452-53, 453n.

[43]Robert Chazan, "The Blois Incident of 1171: A Study in Jewish Intercommunal Organization," in *Medieval Jewish Life*, ed. Robert Chazan (New York: KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1976), pp. 335-38.

[44]Poliakov, p. 61; Schaff, vol. 5, p. 444.

[45]Schweitzer, pp. 89, 97-98.

[46]Poliakov, pp. 109-13; Southern, p. 388.

[47]Schweitzer, p. 90. Poliakov questions the idea that Jews actually suffered less from the plague than their Christian neighbors did, pp. 112-13.

[48]Marcus, pp. 43-47; Schaff, vol. 5, p. 449. Marcus includes a contemporary account of one of these confessions.

[49]Schaff, vol. 5, pp. 449-51.

[50]Schweitzer, p. 93. Marcus states that the provisions which protected the Jews in "The Charter of the Jews in the Duchy of Austria, July 1, 1244," were also prompted by the economic importance of Jewish banking, pp. 28-32.

[51]Schweitzer, pp. 60-62, 105-8.

[52]Ibid., 107-10.

[53]Schaff, vol. 5, p. 454. For a Jewish account of the deportation written four years later, see Marcus, pp. 51-55.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abel, Ernest L. *The Roots of Anti-Semitism*. London: Associated University Presses, 1975.

Abbott, S.J., ed. *The Documents of Vatican II*. Trans. by Joseph Gallaghen. New York: The American Press, 1966.

Baron, Salo W. "The Jewish Factor in Medieval Civilization." In *Medieval Jewish Life*, pp. 3-50. Edited by Robert Chazan. New York: KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1976.

Bruce, F.F. *The New Testament Documents: Are They Reliable?* 5th ed. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1960.

_____. *The Spreading Flame*. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1958.

Chazan, Robert. "The Blois Incident of 1171: A Study in Jewish Intercommunal Organization." In *Medieval Jewish Life*, pp. 334-352, Edited by Robert Chazan. New York: KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1976.

Falls, Thomas B., trans. *Saint Justin Martyr*. Vol. 6 in *The Fathers of the Church*. Edited by Ludwig Schopp. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1965.

Gilbert, Arthur. *The Vatican Council and the Jews*. Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1962.

Golb, Norman. "New Light on the Persecution of French Jews at the Time of the First Crusade." In *Medieval Jewish Life*, pp. 289-333. Edited by Robert Chazan. New York: KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1976.

Grant, Michael. *The Jews in the Roman World*. New York: Charles Scriber's Sons, 1973.

Harkins, Paul W., trans. *Saint John Chrysostom*. Vol. 68 in *The Fathers of the Church*. Edited by Hermigild Dressler. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1977.

Marcus, Jacob R. *The Jew in the Medieval World: A Source Book, 315-1791*. Cincinnati: The Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1938.

Poliakov, Leon. *The History of Anti-Semitism*. Trans. by Richard Howard. Vol. 1: *From the Time of Christ to the Court Jews*. New York: The Vanguard Press, Inc., 1965.

Russell, Jeffrey Burton. *Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965.

Schaff, Philip. *History of the Christian Church*. Vol. 2: *Ante-Nicene Christianity*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910, reprint ed., Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1962. Vol. 5: *The Middle Ages: From Gregory VII, 1049, to Boniface VIII, 1294*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907; reprint ed., Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1960.

Schiffman, Lawrence H. "At The Crossroads: Tannaitic Perspectives on the Jewish-Christian Schism." In *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*. Vol. 2, pp. 115-156. Edited by E.P. Sanders, A.I. Baumgarten, and Alan Mendelson. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981.

Schweitzer, Frederick M. *A History of the Jews Since The First Century A.D.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1971.

Southern, R.W. *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages*. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1970.

The Fools of Pride and Prejudice

by Robin Estes

One might wonder what the fool's purpose is in literature. According to John Lauber, fools seem to have two major roles: entertainment and enhancement of the plot.[1] They usually get the reader laughing while they set the stage for action, and their stupidity often elevates the hero or heroine's intelligence and grace. Frequently, the fools oppose the wishes of the protagonist, but the hero eventually prevails. A good example of the fool and their involvement in the action of the book is Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*. She does not limit herself to one fool, but to a host of them, and it is their interactions with the sensible characters that make the novel exciting and entertaining. Lady Catherine de Bourgh, Darcy's (hero) aunt; Mrs. Bennet, Elizabeth's (heroine) mother; and Mr. Collins, Elizabeth's cousin, are a part of this hilarious host. By describing their ludicrous actions and thoughts in *Pride and Prejudice*, Jane Austen reveals Lady Catherine, Mrs. Bennet, and Mr. Collins to be the complete fool.

Lady Catherine represents the aristocratic fool in *Pride and Prejudice*. While some may be impressed with her status, her foolishness detracts from any good qualities she might have. She represents the fool on Darcy's side of the family and is needed to show the reader that Darcy's family is not without its imperfections. Fred Karl contends in *An Age of Fiction* that Darcy too has his own fool of the family, Lady Catherine, "whose vulgarity surpasses that of Elizabeth's mother and sister."[2]

Also, Lady Catherine's relationship with Mr. Collins makes her seem more foolish. Lauber maintains in his article that Lady Catherine's "greatness" can only be taken seriously by Mr. Collins, because they are alike, and "it is inevitable that she should be Mr. Collin's patron; only another fool could accept his nauseating flattery."[3] Jane Austen reflects Lady Catherine's foolishness when she wrote that Lady Catherine is "graciously pleased to approve"[4] of Mr. Collins' sermons, for only a fool could approve of anything Mr. Collins does.

Lady Catherine also parades about trying to show off her authority but ends up looking like a fool. Oscar Firkins maintains in his book that Austen loudly disapproved of Lady Catherine's selfishness and overbearance, and he compared her to "a performer, a trick mule, whom his trainer exhibits to a delighted audience."[5] She is brought to life through her silly outlandish performances. One such occasion is when she confronts Elizabeth and orders her to refuse Darcy's proposal: "Let me be rightly understood. This match . . . can never take place. No, never. Mr. Darcy is engaged to **my daughter**. Now what have you to say?" (p. 298). This confrontation demonstrates her imbecility and adds to the humor, because in trying to split up Darcy and Elizabeth forever, she merely brings them together.

Secondly, Mrs. Bennet represents another fool in *Pride and Prejudice*. She often appears to be silly from her incessant "nervousness." Austen described her: "She was a woman of mean understanding, little information, and uncertain temper, when she was discontented she fancied herself nervous" (p. 7). Lauber states that Mrs. Bennet's silly jabbering often causes her to miss what she is really saying, and he adds that at the end of the book she has not changed, for she is still "occasionally nervous and invariably silly" (p. 323).[6]

Mrs. Bennet's obsession with getting her daughters married makes her appear ridiculous. Austen stated early in the book that "the business of her life was to get her daughters married . . ." (p. 7). She appears to be foolish in ranking Wickham equal to Darcy in terms of being a good husband, but as Lauber claims, to her, any marriage counts.[7] John Bailey stated that he believed Mrs. Bennet's silliest scene was when she expressed her delight concerning Elizabeth's engagement to Darcy:[8] "Oh! my sweetest Lizzy! How rich and how great you will be! . . . Three daughters married! Ten thousand a year! Oh Lord! What will become of me? I shall go distracted" (p. 318).

Mrs. Bennet's absurd speeches also reveal her folly. Bailey wonders if anyone could ever be more absurd than she, for as he stated, "She never once speaks but to expose her own folly."[9] Joann Morse concludes that Austen let Mrs. Bennet expose herself in her absurd speeches and in her refusal to understand what **entail** means[10]: "I cannot bear to think that they should have all this estate. If it was not for the entail I should not mind it" (p. 114). This illogical statement shows Mrs. Bennet's ignorance, for if there were no entail, "they" would not receive the estate in the first place. Firkins maintains that Mrs. Bennet, unlike other fools, never says anything worth saying, and he summarizes: "Many women have had follies akin to Mrs. Bennet's but no live woman ever devoted herself to the quite superfluous task of proving that she was a fool with the perseverance and assiduity of Mrs. Bennet."[11]

Lastly, Mr. Collins is another major fool in *Pride and Prejudice*, and all his statements and actions appear to be funny. John Priestley stated in *The English Comic Characters* that from the first mentioning of Collins, the reader is anxious to see him; from the first sight of him onward, he becomes alive, and the reader may think he knows what Collins will do next, but his folly is always greater than the reader

expects.[12] While trying to flatter someone, Mr. Collins often ends up insulting them. Firkins believes that the reader enjoys this, and a good example is when Collins insults the Bennets in his letter concerning Lydia's elopement with Wickham.[13] He also thought it would be polite of him to introduce himself to Darcy, but he only ended up looking foolish, because it was an insult for him to address Darcy without a formal introduction.

Mr. Collins foolishly follows certain routines. Lauber believes he does not take time to examine if the ritual has any value, but he is always careful to say and do the right thing, and this makes him believe he will achieve the desired effect.[14] His ritualistic approach is exemplified in his proposal to Elizabeth: "He set about it in a very orderly manner, with all the observances which he supposed a regular part of the business" (p. 93), and he was surprised when she refused. As Lauber points out, Mr. Collins is too stupid to see that Elizabeth could never be happy with him, but to him, happiness is not the issue, nor is the bride, the ceremony is what matters.[15]

Mr. Collins' worship of Lady Catherine seems to take precedence over everything, thereby making him look more foolish, for she too is a fool. Priestley believes it is she who has a great deal to do with Collins hunting for a wife and making a fool of himself in the process, and he is so stupid as to think that a person must be crazy not to accept willingly the "good life" at Hunsford and Rosings and being near Lady Catherine.[16] Priestley goes on to say that not only does Collins admire Lady Catherine, Hunsford, and Rosings, "they have become the core of his existence, everything else in life is referred to them and judged by them."[17] This appears to be so hilarious because he is a clergyman, yet he appears to place her above God and his duties to the church.

In conclusion, Austen introduces Lady Catherine, Mrs. Bennet, and Mr. Collins to the reader to make *Pride and Prejudice* an entertaining and exciting novel. Their foolishness elevates Elizabeth's intelligence and independence. Their silly actions, while making the reader laugh, also create suspense and cause certain events to take place. Without the fools' involvement in *Pride and Prejudice*, the novel would be lacking in humor and adventure, and it probably would not be the classic it is known for today.

NOTES

[1]"Jane Austen's Fools," *Studies in English Literature*, 14 (Autumn 1974), 512.
[2](New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1964), p. 43.
[3]Lauber, p. 518.
[4]*Pride and Prejudice* (New York: New American Library, 1980), p. 58. All other references to *Pride and Prejudice* are based on this edition. Page numbers are given in parentheses with each reference.
[5]*Jane Austen* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1965), p. 45.
[6]Lauber, p. 517.
[7]Lauber, p. 517.
[8]*Introduction to Jane Austen* (Folcroft, Pennsylvania: The Folcroft Press, 1969), p. 42.
[9]Bailey, p. 40.
[10]"Afterword," in *Pride and Prejudice*, Jane Austen (New York: New American Library, 1980), p. 328.
[11]Firkins, pp. 32-33.
[12](New York: Phaeton Press, 1972), p. 139.
[13]Firkins, p. 43.
[14]Lauber, p. 516.
[15]Lauber, p. 517.
[16]Priestley, pp. 150-153.
[17]Priestley, pp. 144-145.

WORKS CITED

Austen, Jane. *Pride and Prejudice*. New York: New American Library, 1980.
Bailey, John Cann. *Introduction to Jane Austen*. Folcroft, Pennsylvania: The Folcroft Press, 1969.
Firkins, Oscar W. *Jane Austen*. New York: Russell and Russell, 1965.
Karl, Frederick Robert. *An Age of Fiction*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1964.
Lauber, John. "Jane Austen's Fools." *Studies in English Literature*, 14 (Autumn 1974), pp. 511-518.
Morse, Joann. "Afterword." In *Pride and Prejudice*. Jane Austen. New York: New American Library, 1980, pp. 327-332.
Priestley, John Boyton. *The English Comic Characters*. New York: Phaeton Press, 1972.

The Role of Political Party Platforms in the Formulation of American Foreign Policy

by John Rollin Tarter

During a political party's national convention in an election year, one of the major events of the week is the announcement of the party platform. Soon after this announcement has taken place, however, the attention of the party and of those who are following the convention quickly turns to other events on the convention's agenda. Often, it seems the party's platform fades away into the pages of political science journals and history books, never to be a public issue again. Although most American voters feel party platforms are meaningless and thus never read the platform their party adopts, there is evidence that party platforms should receive more respect than they are given.

Party platforms present what party leaders feel are the major issues concerning the government at the time they are written. They also present evidence of what the positions and actions of the party candidate might be should he be elected to office. Throughout American history, it has often been true that candidates have ignored their party's platform once they have taken office. In recent history, however, this trend appears to be changing. In the area of foreign policy especially, there is growing evidence that the problems and the solutions presented for them in party platforms are becoming a greater concern of foreign policy makers in the executive branch after the election year is over.

In a review of the literature concerning party platforms, it becomes apparent, most scholars agree, that party platforms should receive more attention from the American public than they are getting. One author stated that based upon the research he and others compiled during the administrations of recent presidents, it can be said that the old belief that the rhetoric of party platforms has no meaning once the elections are over is untrue.[1] Furthermore, authorities agree that there is growing evidence that parties and their candidates hold the promises they make in their platforms so important once they get into office, that in the recent past they made serious efforts to take some actions on most of them.[2] One researcher pointed out that in addition to there being an increase in the amount of pledges fulfilled by parties whose candidates have been elected to the presidency recently, there seems to have been a decrease in the number of those on which no action has been taken.[3] In another book on this subject, the two authors declared that the Democrats have paid especially close attention to their campaign

promises, and that because of this, their party's platform has become a source of pride for them. As evidence of this the authors cited that the Carter administration made a list of the party's campaign promises, with the intent of using them to help guide their actions.[4] Another scholar emphasized the platforms' importance as the basis of a candidate's campaign for the presidency once it is drawn up. He stated that if a candidate is an incumbent president, he and his staff have a major influence on what the platform says. Candidates who are way out front in the pre-election polls, he continued, also have an influence over the platform planks.[5] A point related to this, yet derived from another article on this topic, is the importance of the party's candidate winning the presidential election to the transformation of platform planks into government policy. The party whose candidate wins the presidential election, the author stated, has a higher rate of fulfillment of its platform pledges than the party whose candidate loses.[6]

Although the previous review of the literature concerning the importance of political party platforms may seem to be off the subject of the importance of party platforms in the American foreign policy making process, it does back up the assumptions on which this paper is written. In addition, it is important to point out that very little is written on the subject of American party platforms and the foreign policy making process. In order to address this problem, this research paper will attempt to determine the importance of party platforms in the foreign policy making process by comparing certain statements of the 1976 Democratic party platform to the foreign policy of the Carter administration, and statements of the Republican party platform in 1980 to the foreign policy of the Reagan administration. Since discussing all the foreign policy statements made by these two platforms and examining all the actions and policies of the Carter and Reagan administrations in the formulation of their respective foreign policy program would be too broad a topic for this paper, attention will be limited to the platforms' statements and the administration policies concerning the issues and United States government actions in the Middle East. The Middle East is a good area for research of this type, because for the last decade it has been a central concern of the political leaders who have drawn up party platforms and foreign policy makers alike.

Before this extensive examination can continue, one major point must be made. This is that measuring the fulfillment of a platform is very difficult to do. The central reason for this, acknowledged in one article, is a difference between actions which a party platform promises and those which foreign policy makers take. Because of this, platform promises and government actions cannot be matched for comparison.[7] With this

in mind it becomes apparent that there must be some sort of definition of platform fulfillment by which subsequent foreign policy can be measured. One scholar in this field defined fulfillment as: ". . . some sort of substantial government action of the kind and in the direction promised. There must be the realization of a pledge, not only an attempt at realization, and the achieved result must be clearly akin to the promise."[8]

In comparing the statements of the Democratic platform in 1976 to the policies and actions of the Carter foreign policy in the Middle East over the next four years, two major themes will be addressed. The first theme will be the peace process the 1976 Democratic platform promised its presidential candidate would encourage, and the second theme will be the platform statements about the role and presence of the Russians in the region that its candidate would accept. These two issues were a central concern of foreign policy makers in the Carter administration through the next four years.

With regard to the peace making process, the Democrats' platform promised: "We will continue to seek a just and lasting peace in the Middle East." (. . .) "We will avoid efforts to impose on the region an externally devised formula for settlement, and will provide support for initiatives toward settlement based on direct face to face negotiations of relations and a full peace within secure and defensible boundaries."[9]

The Carter administration seems to have placed heavy importance on the fulfillment of these statements in its policies over the next four years. When Carter came to the presidency in 1977 he did away with old approaches to diplomacy. He initiated a comprehensive approach and took an active role in foreign affairs. His major goal was the achievement of negotiations between the combatants, so that all issues between them could be brought out and resolved.[10] At a town meeting in Clinton, Massachusetts, on March 16, 1977, Carter promised that American foreign policy would not be made in secret, and that America's influence would be used worldwide to bring warring countries to peace.[11] With these policies as his guide, Carter based much of his personal prestige on reaching a peace settlement between the Arabs and Israelis in the Middle East. He stated that he hoped to get the Arabs, Israelis, and Palestinians to come together for negotiation at a Geneva peace conference later in his term of office.[12]

The prospect of an Arab-Israeli peace appeared to be a possibility for the first time in thirty years in 1978, but both parties needed a mediator to achieve peace. The United States could take this role, having been an old friend of Israel and a newly made friend of Egypt.[13] However, much of the ability of the United States to carry out a peace settlement depended on the ability and willingness of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat.[14] Sadat appears to have been willing in 1978, for his visit to Jerusalem that year gave Israel what it had always been seeking from its Arab neighbors; acceptance and recognition. Sadat's actions alienated Egypt's Arab allies, even though it helped open the way for a peace settlement.[15]

Both Sadat and Israeli President Menachem Begin came to Washington that year, but peace negotiations were delayed by an Israeli invasion of Southern Lebanon in March. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance made an attempt to solve Arab-Israeli differences, but these were unsuccessful. Following this failure, Carter invited Begin and Sadat to come to Camp David for face to face negotiations.[16] The Camp David Peace Accords were the high point of the Carter administration's attempts to achieve a peace in the Middle East, and they seem to fulfill the Democratic platform's promise of a directly negotiated peace effort. Sadat and Begin came to Camp David, and after many hours of discussion under the guidance and persuasion of President Carter, they reached two agreements that seemed to shock the world. The agreements, which were signed on September 17, were called *Framework for Peace in the Middle East* and *Framework for Peace Between Egypt and Israel*. The negotiations between Begin and Sadat that led to these agreements were not easy. Both leaders wanted peace, but neither wanted to compromise his position.[17]

Carter's call for a summit meeting was immediately seen by the world as a gamble that had paid off. The euphoria did not take into account that these agreements were not a final resolution of Arab-Israeli problems. They were merely agreements to discuss the major issues between them in the future.[18] Because the Peace Accords did not have the power of a formal treaty, the negotiations between Israel and Egypt on their differences dragged throughout the rest of Carter's term in office. The Carter administration became frustrated, and its foreign policy makers claimed that Israel and Egypt were avoiding the major issues and dealing only with less important technicalities.[19] For example, when negotiations over the issue of Palestinian autonomy which began on May 25, 1979 broke down around June 8, Carter flew to Cairo and Jerusalem in an attempt to convince Sadat and Begin to reach a compromise.[20] These efforts failed for the most part. After two more attempts ended in a stalemate, the Carter administration began to despair.[21]

The second theme, the role and presence of the Soviets in the Middle East, did not receive as much attention as the prospect of an Arab-Israeli peace did in the 1976 Democratic platform. However, the platform did state: "Our policy must be based on firm adherence to several fundamental principles of Middle East policy." One of these principles was: ". . . the maintenance of U.S. military forces in the Mediterranean

adequate to deter military intervention there by the Soviet Union."[22] From this statement we can derive that a central interest of the Democratic administration would be the deterrence of an increase of Soviet influence in the Middle East over the next four years.

While there is no doubt that Carter was interested in preventing Russian influence from overtaking that of the United States in the Middle East, it seems that he subordinated this concern to his desire to achieve peace in that region. This desire held true throughout the first part of his term. Carter felt that the participation of the Soviets was necessary for the success of the peace process, and thus U.S. policy makers looked for a way to bring the Soviet Union into the peace negotiations. The result of negotiations with Soviet foreign policy leaders on this topic was a Soviet-American joint declaration that was announced on October 1, 1977.[23] The agreement stated that the resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict was basic to the establishment of peace in the Middle East. It stipulated that peace negotiations should be comprehensive, including all those parties concerned and all pertinent issues. Three key issues it outlined for peace in the region were: an Israeli withdrawal from all territories not occupied before 1967, a resolution of the Palestinian problem, and negotiations that would bring an end to all war. As a framework for negotiations the statement set forth the procedure of the Geneva Conference, and it pledged that the United States and Russia would work together for some action by December, 1977.[24]

As time went on, the Carter administration abandoned this joint effort and began to take a policy approach more like that suggested by the Democrats' platform. Three reasons for this are, the American public outcry against Soviet participation, the bad effects on United States relations with Egypt that this would produce, and Israel's objection to it. For these reasons, the Carter administration excluded the Soviets from the Camp David peace process.[25] As a result, the Soviets severed their ties with Egypt, and became a champion of Pan-Arab causes, such as Palestinian self determination and the restoration of Arab control over land occupied by Israel in 1967.[26] After the fall of Iran to revolutionary Shiite Muslims, the security of American interests in the Middle East was severely reduced. The invasion of Afghanistan towards the end of Carter's term was the first Soviet threat of aggression in the region since the forties.[27] Carter responded to these threats with actions very close to those promised by the Democratic platform. In his State of the Union address on January 23, 1980, Carter set forth what has become known as the "Carter Doctrine." He promised immediate military action by the United States if any outside force attempted to gain control of the Persian Gulf region. Later in his term Carter began the development of a Rapid Deployment Force and the building up of United States Naval forces in the Indian Ocean to carry out this threat should the need arise. This new policy was specifically designed to deter Soviet aggression.[28]

In the presidential election of 1980 and when the Reagan administration came to office afterward, the same two themes which concerned the 1976 Democratic platform and President Carter were still major issues. Thus the importance of the 1980 Republican platform in the Reagan administration's formulation of American foreign policy can be tested on this basis. The Reagan administration promised to take a different approach to problems in the Middle East than Carter, however, because of ideological differences. These differences can be seen in both the Republican platform and Reagan administrative policies.

The 1980 Republican platform placed a strong emphasis upon the continuation of the peace process in the Middle East. It stated:

> "Republicans recognize that a just and durable peace for all nations of the regions is the best guarantee of continued stability . . . Peace between Israel and its neighbors requires direct negotiations among the states involved. Accordingly, a Republican administration will encourage the peace process now in progress between Egypt and Israel, and will seek to broaden it . . ."[29]

At the beginning of his administration, Reagan made many promises of continuing the peace process. He continued to do so throughout his administration, and the speeches of various policy makers on his staff echoed his promises. One typical speech was made by the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Far Eastern and European Affairs, Peter Constable, before a House Subcommittee on the Middle East and Europe on April 6, 1981. Like the Republican platform, he stated that progress had been made toward the resolution of conflicts in the Middle East, and promised that the Reagan administration would continue this process. The Egyptian-Israel dispute, he said, would be the first issue addressed by the Reagan administration.[30] Sadat visited Washington in August of 1981, and promised to continue the Camp David process. Begin also came later, and made a similar pledge. Both leaders received a warm welcome by the Reagan administration. The negotiations between Israel, Egypt and the United States continued after this, but none of the parties involved had a plan or a desire to continue them with fervour.[31]

Various incidents, which will be discussed later, shifted the interest of the Reagan administration away from the peace process throughout the rest of 1981 and most of 1982. In two important speeches he made in September of 1982, Secretary of State George Shultz restated the committment of the Reagan administration to the peace process in the

Middle East. In one speech, before the United Jewish Appeal in New York City on September 12, Shultz outlined the Reagan plan for peace. One theme he emphasized was the Reagan administration's commitment to security for Israel throughout the years to come. A second goal he discussed was the Camp David proposal for a transitional period of five years in which the Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza would rule themselves.[32] In an earlier speech he had said that international organizations would be used to help in the peace process, and that the only change in the Camp David peace process would be the addition of the representatives of the PLO and other Arab nations to the negotiations.[33] He was careful to add, however, that Reagan's policy did not include the establishment of an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza.[34] This last statement offers evidence that the Reagan administration was following policies promised by the Republican platform to some degree. In the party platform's outline for peace in the Middle East there had been the statement: "We believe the establishment of a Palestinian state on the West Bank would be destabilizing and harmful to the peace process."[35] Unlike the Carter administration, the Reagan administration did not follow up its peace initiative plans with a summit effort such as the Camp David accords. For the most part, peace plans were subordinated to other goals and interests.

The role of the Soviets in the Middle East and the presence that they should have there was a major issue in the presidential campaign of 1980. For this reason, this theme became a central part of the Republican platform. The platform stated:

> "In the past three years, the nations of the Middle East and Persian Gulf have suffered an unprecedented level of political, economic, and military turmoil. The Soviet Union has been prompt in turning these sources of instability to its advantage. The Soviet goal is clear; to use subversion and the threat of military intervention to establish a controlling influence over the region's resource rich states, and thereby to gain decisive political and economic leverage over Western and Third world nations vulnerable to economic coercion."[36]

When the Reagan administration came into office, it voiced similar fears of Soviet inroads in the Middle East. Reagan promised to restore America's credibility in the Middle East, and to oppose the Soviet threats in the region. Also, he continued to build up the Rapid Deployment Forces, but at a greater speed than Carter had. He promised that there would be no further humiliations to the United States in the Middle East, such as the fall of Iran or the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.[37] The American policy under Reagan acquired a new strategy. Instead of emphasizing an Egyptian-Israel peace, this policy

had the containment of Soviet expansion as its central goal. The achievement of the goal subordinated all other American interests in the Middle East.[38] Just before Reagan came to office, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance had outlined the actions of the United States that would counter the expansion of Soviet influence. One would be to negotiate with the countries of the Middle East to achieve greater American strength and more stability in the region. Another would be an increase in America's military to enhance our ability to respond to threats that might arise. Finally, through economic and military aide, Vance promised that the United States would strengthen the countries in the region so that they could respond to a Soviet threat themselves if the need should arise.[39] To this policy established at the end of the Carter administration, Reagan's Secretary of State Alexander Haig added the Reagan administration's goal of diplomatic containment. He went to the Middle East in April of 1981, and attempted, as John Foster Dulles had in 1953, to establish a collective security through various alliances with the countries of the region. He centered his efforts in Israel, Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Oman. These attempts were unsuccessful, however, because the Arab states would not ally with either Egypt or Israel. They particularly disliked Egypt because they opposed Sadat's negotiations with Israel.[40]

With the failure of containment, the Reagan administration shifted to employing arms sales as its emphasis. The goal of this approach was the same as that of Haig's efforts to achieve some sort of collective security, and it closely matched the Republican platform's promise to strengthen countries in the Middle East through military aid. Reagan used arms as a diplomatic tool with no reservations. His administration completed arms sales negotiated by the Carter administration earlier, and used them in an attempt to expand American influence in the Middle East over countries that formerly had not been our allies.[41] The results of this policy were disastrous. For example, in 1981 when Reagan approved arms sales in Saudi Arabia, Israel was outraged. The United States had to sell arms to Israel that would offset this threat in order to appease Israeli leaders. In other cases the result of Reagan's arms sales policy was the same. It was found to increase instability by provoking rivalries among various countries in the Middle East, thus defeating its purpose. Reagan quickly abandoned this policy, because it was felt that the United States might not be able to control the situations that could result from it.[42]

In comparing the statements of the Republican platform of 1980 to the subsequent foreign policy of the Reagan administration, and those of the 1976 Democratic platform to the foreign policy of the Carter administration, it appears some relationship between platform statements and

government policies does exist. A correlation between the statements of both party platforms and the foreign policy approach of that party's candidate is apparent, but the final conclusion must be that many other factors influence foreign policy actions of the party's presidential candidate after he takes office.

One factor that influences American foreign policy makers, particularly in the Middle East, is the events that occur during the administration's term in office. This has held true in the examination of the American foreign policy during the Carter and Reagan administrations. The emphasis of the Carter administration was upon promoting peace in the Middle East, whereas the Reagan administration's main concern was stopping the expansion of Soviet influence in the region. One of the reasons this change occurred was that the development of events in the Middle East made it a much different environment for American foreign policy under the Reagan administration from what it had been during the term of the Carter administration. Two major events which have been mentioned earlier that changed the Middle East were the revolution in Iran, and Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Among other things, the revolution of Shiite Muslims in Iran showed the United States that its military power could be useless in influencing some changes and developments in the Middle East.[43] In the wake of this highly influenced event upon American diplomacy came the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. As a result of these two occurrences, the tendency of the Reagan administration to emphasize the threat of potential Soviet aggression in the Middle East is partially understandable.[44]

Another highly influential event which affected the Reagan administration's policy was the assassination of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat. Israel and the United States were greatly shocked by the death. The United States supported Hosni Mubarak, who replaced Sadat as President of Egypt, but the peace process was definitely undermined.[45]

By far, however, Israel's invasion of Lebanon in the summer of 1982 changed the environment of the Middle East and diplomatic relations there more than any other event. Israel had sent her troops into a six mile wide area of Lebanon in March of 1978, but the Carter administration did not let this interfere with the peace talks. When Israel attacked Palestinian sectors of Beirut on July 17, 1981 before its invasion, however, the peace process was severely impeded.[46] In the aftermath of this invasion, a severe rift in United States relations with Israel and the Arab nations was opened which has not yet been closed. This rift has made the continuation of peace negotiations impossible.

An important factor that influences American foreign policy makers in addition to current events is what our leaders perceive these to mean.

This perception includes what they think American interests are, and how various developments enhance or threaten them. The particular ideology that a president and the policy makers of his administration hold will in part determine what their interpretation of the importance of an event to American interests will be. A party platform reflects the ideology of the party that writes it, and can give the electorate an idea of the ideology held by the party's candidate. The ideology evident in a party's platform will most assuredly assume great importance if that candidate wins the election.

In conclusion, there appears to have been some correlation between the party platforms of the victorious presidential candidates in 1976 and 1980 and the foreign policy that they pursued in the Middle East during their subsequent terms of office. These correlations do not mean that party platforms have a direct influence on the formulation of American foreign policy, however, because there are other factors that have great importance in the foreign policy making process. In spite of this, party platforms have greater meaning than it is commonly thought. On the basis of this research it can be concluded that the past two American presidents have pursued the same foreign policy goals and followed the same diplomatic approach in the Middle East that their respective party platforms expressed before they took office. This study is far too limited to warrant some of the conclusions reached by scholars that were discussed earlier, but it does present evidence that supports a few of their statements. Party platforms, whether they play a large role in the policy making processes of American presidents or not, do have an important role in the American political system. Because of this, they deserve more attention than they receive from the American electorate.

NOTES

[1]Paul T. David, "Party Platforms as National Plans," *Public Administration Review*, XXXI (May/June 1971), 311.

[2]Edward Chester, *A Guide to Political Platforms* (Hamden, Conn., 1977), 45.

[3]David, "Platforms and Plans," 312.

[4]Gerald Pomper and Susan Lederman, *Elections in America: Control and Influence in Democratic Politics* (New York, 1980), 157.

[5]Chester, *A Guide*, 40.

[6]David, "Platforms as Plans," 310.

[7]Pomper and Lederman, *Elections in America*, 158.

[8]*Ibid.*, 159.

[9]"Text of the 1976 Democratic Party Platform," *National Party Platforms 1960-1976*, Vol. II, Compiled by Kirk Porter and Donald B. Johnson, (Urban, Ill., 1978), 944.

[10]C. Paul Bradley, *The Camp David Peace Process: A Study of Carter Administration Policies, 1977-1980* (Grantham, N.H., 1981), 6.

[11]Jimmy Carter, "Remarks at a Town Meeting in Clinton, Mass. on March 16, 1977," *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*, 13 (March 21, 1977), 360.

[12]*Ibid.*, 361.
[13]John C. Campbell, "The Middle East: The Burdens of Empire," *Foreign Affairs: America and the World, 1978*, 57 (Jan. 1979), 613.
[14]*Ibid.*, 620.
[15]*Ibid.*, 619.
[16]*Ibid.*, 621.
[17]*Ibid.*, 620, 622.
[18]Congressional Quarterly Inc., *The Middle East: U.S. Policy, Israel, Oil, and the Arabs* 4th ed., Patricia O'Connor, ed., (Washington, D.C., 1979), 5.
[19]*Ibid.*, 7.
[20]*Ibid.*, 26.
[21]Bradley, *The Camp David Peace Process*, 2.
[22]"Text of '76 Democratic Platform," *National Party Platforms*, 944.
[23]Campbell, "The Burdens of Empire," 617.
[24]"Soviet-American Joint Statement of October 1, 1977," *Department of State Bulletin*, LXXVII (Nov. 7, 1977), 639, 640.
[25]Campbell, "The Burdens of Empire," 618.
[26]Seyom Brown, *"On the Front Burner" Issues in U.S. Foreign Policy* (Boston, 1984).
[27]Harold Saunders, *Conversations with Harold Saunders: U.S. Foreign Policy for the Middle East in the 1980's* (Washington, 1982), 55.
[28]*Ibid.*, 61.
[29]"1980 Republican Platform Text," *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, 96 Cong. 2 Sess., Vol. XXXVI (Washington, D.C., 1980), 81-B.
[30]Peter Constable, "U.S. Policy Toward the Middle East and Persian Gulf Region," *Department of State Bulletin*, 81 (June 1981), 43.
[31]John C. Campbell, "The Middle East: A House of Containment Built on Shifting Sands," *Foreign Affairs: America and the World 1981*, 60 (Jan. 1981), 614.
[32]George Shultz, "The Quest for Peace," *Current Policy*, 419 (Sept. 12, 1982), 2.
[33]George Shultz, "President Reagan's Middle East Peace Initiative," *Current Policy*, 418 (Sept. 10, 1982), 2.
[34]Shultz, "Quest for Peace," 2.
[35]"80 Republican Text," *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, 81-B.
[36]*Ibid.*
[37]Campbell, "A House of Containment," 595.
[38]Brown, *On the Front Burner*, 135.
[39]Cyrus Vance, "Afghanistan: America's Course," *Department of State Bulletin*, 80 (April 1980), 13.
[40]Campbell, "A House of Containment," 597.
[41]Brown, *On the Front Burner*, 171.
[42]*Ibid.*
[43]I.F. Stone, "The Lesson of Iran; Enormous Military Power Can be Meaningless," *Progressive*, 43, (April 1979), 29.
[44]Saunders, *Conversations with Harold Saunders*, 12.
[45]Campbell, "A House of Containment," 615.
[46]Brown, *On the Front Burner*, 156.

Telecommuting: A Wave for the Future

by Sheryl Dawson

Today it takes an act of courage to suggest that our biggest factories and office towers may, within our lifetime, stand half empty, reduced to ghostly warehouses or converted into living space.[1]

While still a new phenomenon, telecommuting may soon become a viable alternative to the traditional nine-to-five workday. Firms are waking up to the fact that not every employee need work eight hours a day, five days a week and in the same location each day. More and more employees may find themselves working within sight of the kitchen table, instead of fighting the freeways every morning and evening. What the new mode of production makes possible is a return to "cottage industry," a new, higher, electronic basis, with emphasis on the home as the center of society.[2]

Telecommuting is defined as work done away from a central office. It's not just using computers and telephones; it's location and time independence.

Although telecommuting is relatively a new concept, it is growing rapidly. Telecommuting has become popular due to the personal computer and from companies feeling more pressure from their workers. Companies invest into telecommuting feeling the need to retain their valued employees. In California, companies have begun building homes with offices and computer connections already installed.[3]

Within 15 years, millions of Americans will probably be commuting by computer. There are now approximately 30,000 people in the United States who work at home with company computers at least part-time. It is estimated that another 20,000 Americans work closer to home, thanks to the computer.[4] Telecommuting has encouraged some companies to decentralize operations with several suburban branches, sometimes replacing a downtown headquarters. For instance, with a neighborhood work center, employees who live in the same area can go to a neighborhood office to work, avoiding the time and cost for commuting to the main (downtown) office.[5]

A study conducted by Jack Nilles in Los Angeles found that on the average, each person traveled 21.4 miles a day to and from work using gasoline equivalent to 64.6 kilowatts of energy. A typical computer terminal uses only 100 to 125 watts or less when in operation, and a phone line consumes only one watt or less while in use. By contrast, it takes far less energy to move the information by terminal, as opposed to

traveling to the office and then performing the task. Calculations show that in 1975, if 12 to 14 percent of urban commuting had been replaced by telecommuting, the United States would have saved approximately 75 million barrels of gasoline, eliminating the need to import gasoline from abroad. Part of this time saved by not commuting may be spent on the job.[6]

The most important advantage of telecommuting is the gain in productivity of 20 to 300 percent. Productivity is difficult to measure, but it has been found that just by moving people from the office to the home results in a productivity increase because a worker can pick his or her own time to work. Hence, staff turnover is reduced due to the flexible working conditions. Also, employees produce more because they have the time and flexibility to fit in family obligations, which leads to an improved morale.

If one works at home, it dilutes the mentality of work as a place with a lot of paper shuffling and coffee breaks. If an adequate contact with the office is maintained by telephone and by computer, an employee can do his or her job effectively at home where conditions are most congenial. This eliminates the hassle of trying to get along with co-workers who have different viewpoints. The possibility also exists that the employee will be so tremendously productive that he or she will be able to hire out to other employers.[7]

Telecommuting can help spread the work load for some functions around the clock. Tasks that do not absolutely need to be done on the first shift can be done during the evening.

Another advantage of telecommuting is appreciated by small businesses. A lot of companies do not have adequate floor space and resources for everyone, and by decreasing the size of the central offices and manufacturing facilities, the smaller the real estate bill, the cost of creating new policies, and the costs of heating, cooling, and lighting.[7]

Because it requires little mobility, computerized homework offers special opportunities to people whose physical handicaps make it difficult for them to work in a typical office. Control Data Corporation in Minneapolis, employs about 50 handicapped people full-time in their homes across the country through terminals connected to the mainframe computers.

Joanne Saladin had worked in Control Data's Dayton office for a year and a half when she suffered a brain aneurysm and a stroke in 1974. In November, 1978, Data Control began training former disabled workers to determine if they could work productively at home on computer terminals. Joanne was trained and now she programs software packages in academic subjects, ranging from material for the General Educational Development test to a college calculus course. This is just

one case of a handicapped person who is able to work using in-home computers.[8]

In dual-career marriages, the question has been asked, "Is telecommuting an answer to the problem of child care?" The answer is no, telecommuting is not a substitute for child care. It does give one more access to his or her family, but it will not be a substitute for full-time child care. Parents are nearer to their children and can be called on if problems arise.[9]

It has been implied that the electronic cottage or telecommuting system has aided in the lowering of divorce rates among couples who work together. The electronic cottage system raises the possibility of husbands and wives, and perhaps even children, working together as a unit. Through history it has been said that "families who work together, stay together."[10]

However, there are some drawbacks. Some people won't be able to use in-home telecommuting because they simply cannot concentrate at home, causing productivity to go down. Another drawback is faced by the compulsive eater. Some people find that they put on 20 pounds in a matter of a few months.

The lack of contact with co-workers is a real hindrance for some people working at home. One solution to this problem would be to ask the workers to check in with the office, in person, every few weeks. Another recommendation is the use of electronic mail so co-workers can communicate with each other on a daily basis.

One major disadvantage is that a security problem might arise with technical employees working at home if, for example, a neighbor should visit and observe sensitive data. However, workers at the main office have the capability to disclose this information. According to Joseph Deken, author of *The Electronic Cottage*, "You're going to have to trust them whether they're in the office or at home."[11]

Serious implications for management arise when supervising from a distance. It has been found that managers do not necessarily need to see employees to manage them efficiently. This will separate good managers from the bad, as telecommuting tends to magnify the weaknesses of ineffective managers. "People who are good managers in person, will be good managers at a distance," says Marcia Kelly, president of Electronic Services Unlimited.[12] Joseph Deken agrees with Kelly. Deken sees the role of management not as a sheepherder who has to keep people locked in a room and watched over, but more as an evaluator of the quality and cost of work.[13]

The typical manager who sees his or her subordinates routinely can ask and answer questions about the progress of their work. However, when employees are off-site most of the time, the manager's practices

might have to change. He must better define job expectations, including the nature of the work to be done, time limits, and quality concerns; set performance standards; and carefully select those who will be most productive in a home environment. Both the manager and the employer must agree on what actions are ethical. The employee at home has the same need for feedback as those in the office. The manager should take extra steps to measure progress and give reassurance.

As much as possible, the manager should help the telecommuting worker feel a part of the social and information network of the office. This ranges from being invited to staff and project meetings, to less business-oriented functions, such as luncheons, or cocktails after work. Managers have to be sure that telecommuters are not "out of mind," just because they are "out of sight."

There are many questions to be answered about salaries, qualities, and users of telecommuting. Most companies find these issues manageable and that there are relatively few barriers. One point of view is that companies will match the benefits paid to central employees. Another is that telecommuters receive no company-paid benefits, but are paid more than the in-house staff members.[14]

To be a successful telecommuting worker, one needs certain personal qualities. The most important personal quality needed is a good sense of organization. Telecommuters should have set goals and have already achieved them in the central office environment. It is best to start with people who have been with the company for some time and are known to be self-motivated and self-directed. The odds of success become better, "if people are extremely responsible, self-starters, and have a proven track record," says Kelly of Electronic Services Unlimited.[15]

Many businesses are utilizing telecommuting. The earliest interest in telecommuting has been financial services and insurance companies. Equipment vendors are also very interested, but from two points of view: one, as a new product sales and second, as something to implement internally.[16]

Many white-collar, technical, and professional people are using telecommuting. An unmeasured amount of work is being done at home by such people as salesmen and saleswomen who work by phone, by architects, by human-service workers like therapists and psychologists, by lawyers, by music teachers and language instructors, and by many others. These people are among the most rapidly expanding work classifications. When technology increases so that a low-cost work station can be placed in a home, the possibilities for work at home will be further expanded.[17]

The computer doesn't lead to isolation, but it does provide a window for more social contact with people and more options unavailable today.

"We can't be afraid to try new solutions, hybrid solutions. The future will see a partnership between manager and employee."[18] Telecommuting means less forced mobility, less stress on the individual, fewer temporary human relationships, reduced incidental absences for doctor appointments or minor illnesses, fewer distractions and interruptions, greater participation in community events, and the ability to work at the individual employee's peak period.

Today we cannot know if telecommuting will become the norm of the future. Having the option of working at home, even temporarily, may be the key to keeping certain people in the work force. It is predicted that within two or three years, five percent of the American work force will be working at home. Also, if as few as 10 to 20 percent of the work force, as presently defined, were to make this historic transfer over the next 20 to 30 years, our entire economy, our cities, our ecology, our family structure, our values, and our policies would be altered almost beyond our recognition. Telecommuting is a possibility to be pondered.

ENDNOTES

[1]Alvin Toffler, *The Third Wave*, New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1980, p. 194.
[2]"The Pluses of Working at Home," *Infosystems*, March 1984, p. 102.
[3]Marcia M. Kelly, "Exploring the potentials of decentralized work settings," *Personnel Administrator*, February 1984, pp. 48-49.
[4]Mike Lewis, "If You Worked Here, You'd Be Home Now." *Nation's Business*, April 1984, pp. 51-52.
[5]Gil E. Gordon, "Telecommuting: An Idea Beginning to Catch On," *The Office*, February 1984, p. 50.
[6]Alvin Toffler, *The Third Wave*, New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1980, p. 201.
[7]"The Pluses of Working at Home," *Infosystems*, March 1984, p. 102.
[8]Mike Lewis, "If You Worked Here, You'd Be Home Now," *Nation's Business*, April 1984, p. 51.
[9]Marcia M. Kelly, "Exploring the potentials of decentralized work settings," *Personnel Administrator*, February 1984, p. 52.
[10]Alvin Toffler, *The Third Wave*, New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1980, p. 203.
[11]"The Pluses of Working at Home," *Infosystems*, March 1984, p. 102.
[12]Joseph McKendrick, "Telecommuting More Than a Fad," *Management World*, March 1984, p. 23.
[13]"The Pluses of Working at Home," *Infosystems*, March 1984, p. 102.
[14]Gil E. Gordon, "Telecommuting: An Idea Beginning to Catch On," *The Office*, February 1984, pp. 50-51, 53.
[15]Joseph McKendrick, "Telecommuting More Than a Fad," *Management World*, March 1984, p. 23.
[16]Marcia M. Kelly, "Exploring the potentials of decentralized work settings," *Personnel Administrator*, February 1984, p. 48.
[17]Alvin Toffler, *The Third Wave*, New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1980, p. 197.
[18]"The Pluses of Working at Home," *Infosystems*, March 1984, p. 102.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Gordon, Gil E. "Telecommuting: An Idea Beginning to Catch On." *The Office*. February 1984, pp. 50-51, 53.

Kelly, Marcia M. "Exploring the potentials of decentralized work settings." *Personal Administrator*. February 1984, pp. 48-49, 52.

Lewis, Mike. "If You Worked Here, You'd Be Home Now." *Nation's Business*. April 1984, pp. 51-52.

McKendrick, Joseph. "Telecommuting More Than a Fad." *Management World*. March 1984, p. 23.

"The Pluses of Working at Home." *Infosystems*. March 1984, p. 102.

Toffler, Alvin. *The Third Wave*. New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1980, pp. 194-207.

Attributions of Group Poor Performance

by Ken Waller

Part of a supervisor's job consists of evaluating, punishing, and giving feedback to poor performing subordinates. In order to fulfill these duties, a supervisor must make an accurate assessment of why the substandard performance occurred. This assessment often results in an attribution which is defined as a conclusion about the most probable cause of the subordinate's actions (Mitchell & Kalb, 1982).

The main purpose of this paper is to investigate and analyze the unique problems associated with the declining performance of an entire work group. There are several unique features of group performance problems which are not encountered in cases of individual poor performance. Three of these features are listed and discussed below (Brown, 1984).

An entire work group that is performing poorly has serious consequences for an organization. The results of several employees performing poorly are more likely to be noticed by the organization than the results of an individual employee performing poorly.

Group poor performance can also be an indication of major problems within an organization such as plant-wide morale, inefficient inventory control systems, or inadequate production facilities; in contrast, individual poor performance is less likely to be related to major problems within the organization.

Reflection on the supervisor is another unique feature associated with the declining performance of an entire work group. The poor performance of an individual employee will reflect far less on the supervisor than the poor performance of a group when a supervisor is judged on the overall performance of his employees.

Literature on causal attribution within the last five years has focused on the supervisor's ratings of employee performance (Feldman, 1981), supervisor's assessments of the causes of poor performance (Mitchell & Kalb, 1982), the nature of feedback that supervisors provide to subordinates (Green & Liden, 1980), and the interactive effects between performance ratings and causal attributions (Staw, 1975).

Brown (1984) states that what appears to be missing from the existing literature are reports of efforts at understanding the causes of group poor performance. Even though the applications listed above are important to organizations, Brown has indicated that research on attributions about group poor performance may be of even greater

importance.

The main reason for the need for studies on attributions about the causes of poor performance is because attributions influence an organization's ability to manage human productivity effectively. According to Green and Mitchell (1979), the attribution that a supervisor makes about the cause or causes of a performance problem will determine the method that the supervisor takes to correct the problem. For example, the corrective action most likely will involve a discussion or reprimand if the attribution is focused on the employee; however, the corrective action will probably involve the task or work environment if the attribution is focused away from the employee. The accuracy of attributions is very important because accurate attributions will lead to appropriate corrective actions whereas inaccurate attributions will not (Brown, 1984).

There are two dimensions of attributional theory that have implications for the diagnosis of group performance problems. These two dimensions are the actor-observer differences and the differential effects of consistency, consensus, and distinctiveness information cues on observers' attributions (Brown, 1984).

Mitchell and Kalb (1982) have defined the actor-observer difference as the situation in which one person (the observer) tries to explain the behavior of another person (the actor).

Brown's (1984) research indicates that the results of organizational research on attributions have been consistent with theories from the psychological literature that suggests that an actor (employee) is likely to attribute his own work failures to factors in the work environment and that an observer (supervisor) is more inclined to attribute the employee's failures to the employee's internal states or dispositions. In summary, the poor performing subordinate is more inclined to suggest external causes for his poor performance while a supervisor is more inclined to attribute this poor performance to internal factors.

There are two unique features to consider when viewing the actor-observer relationship as a supervisor-employee relationship. First, the relationship is one of dependence; second, the relationship may be only a matter of perspective.

According to Ilgen et al. (1981), the attributions about causes of poor performance tend to be more employee-centered than would be otherwise when the supervisor is dependent upon the employee for output or when the supervisor receives rewards based on the subordinate's output. This particularly holds true for the work group because the work group's performance, more so than the individual's performance, provides a measure of the supervisor's capabilities.

Concerning the matter of perspective, the supervisor is an actor as well as an observer even though on the surface the supervisor is seen as

the observer who assigns cause when monitoring the performance of subordinates. For example, the supervisor is often responsible for the external factors such as adequate instructions, realistic schedules, and timely deliveries that are critical to the employee's performance. Since these factors generally affect the work group as a whole, the supervisor's role as an actor is particularly noticeable when the performance of a group is being considered. Mitchell and Kalb (1982) stated that a supervisor is more likely to blame the employee in such a situation as described above rather than the environment or external factures because an environmental attribution might suggest that poor supervision was involved.

Attributions also seem to be influenced to a great extent by the information that is available. An example is in a work setting where a supervisor, knowing that a decline in performance has occurred, has information available that allows for comparisons. Although several types of comparisons are possible, Brown (1984) stated that the most important ones to a discussion of group poor performance are the comparisons between people.

Brown, in her research, cited Kelly (1967) as conceptualizing people using three types of information when they make attributions. These three types are consistency, consensus, and distinctiveness.

Consistency information is defined as the relative stability of an individual's performance over time. Consensus information refers to the comparison of the performance of one employee with the performance of other employees. Distinctiveness information refers to the degree to which the performance on the task in question is different from other tasks performed by the employee.

Due to its availability, consensus information may be of the most value to a supervisor even though laboratory studies have shown the effects of consensus information to be relatively weak as determinants of casual attribution. Consistency cues which are represented by historical performance data often are not available because of poor record keeping or in-plant transfers. Distinctiveness information may not always be available either due to the fact that an employee may work at only one task which would mean that there would not be any other tasks to compare it with.

Some of the methods for attributing cause to group poor performance are as follows:

1. Kelly's consensus model
2. Social influence
3. Administrative level
4. Hedonic relevance
5. Accumulated failures

These different perspectives depend upon the circumstances and the view of the supervisor who is making the observations.

According to Kelly's (1967) consensus model, attribution should be more external in nature when the entire work group performs poorly. Furthermore, the corrective actions that grow out of these attributions should be directed toward the factors in the task environment that may be impeding performance.

Social influence is a second way of attributing cause to group poor performance. According to Weiss and Shaw (1979), a supervisor who believes that negative attitudes tend to be contagious may see the attitudes, motivation, or concentration of one or two people as being the cause of group poor performance. Corrective action resulting from social influence attribution will require efforts to change an individual's attitude or maybe even a dismissal or transfer of a problem employee. These actions can be rather difficult for the supervisor.

A third method of attributing cause to group poor performance is the administrative level of the person making the attribution. Brown (1984) stated that administratively distant individuals will lean toward internal attributions regardless of how many people are performing poorly. One reason for this is that high level managers are unlikely to have had much experience in performing operating tasks. According to Mitchell and Kalb (1982), observers with previous task experience tend to make more external attributions than do the observers who have not had any experience at the task.

Another reason for administratively distant individuals leaning toward internal attributions is the level of analysis that is considered by the observer. For example, an upper level manager may compare work groups with each other, whereas a first-line supervisor will probably compare individual employees in making diagnostic judgements.

Brown (1984) listed two problems of administrative level biases. The first problem is that upper level managers may make inappropriate policy decisions based on inaccurate internal attributions. The second problem is that the imposed attribution can cause conflicting situations for a first-line supervisor. For example, the upper level manager may force his attribution on the first-line supervisor by demanding certain actions for them to take. This puts the first-line supervisor in a position of needing to satisfy his boss while trying not to aggravate the existing problem by taking inappropriate corrective action.

According to the theory of hedonic relevance, a perceiver will be more likely to make an internal attribution about the cause of a negative action or outcome that affects the perceiver's own welfare. Also, a supervisor may make external attributions about system factors that are outside of his control. A supervisor may use either of these two ways

to remove blame from himself which may allow him to avoid embarrassment with upper level management.

Green and Mitchell (1979) stated that corrective actions involving employees may be easier to implement than those involving the system. For example, the supervisor will probably lean toward internal attribution about employees if the external factors outside of his control represent insurmountable problems. In contrast, Green and Mitchell further stated a supervisor will tend to favor external attributions when the employee group seems to be an impregnable obstacle.

The fifth method of attributing cause to group poor performance is accumulated failures. The accumulated failures model suggests that a supervisor may move further and further away from external attributions towards blaming the subordinates for the problem when the pattern of group poor performance continues over time. In such a situation, the supervisor will probably take defensive actions (Stevens & Jones, 1976).

Three unique features of group poor performance were analyzed: serious consequences, indication of major problems within an organization, and reflection on the supervisor. A review of the literature found that the main reason for the need for studies on attributions about the causes of group poor performance is that attributions influence an organization's ability to manage human productivity effectively. Two dimensions of attributional theory that have implications for the diagnosis of group performance problems were discussed: actor-observer differences and the differential effects of consistency, consensus, and distinctiveness information cues on observers attributions. Consensus information was found to be of most value to a supervisor due to its availability.

Five perspectives for attributing cause to group poor performance were examined. These five methods were Kelly's consensus model, social influence, administrative level, hedonic relevance, and accumulated failures. The perspective that a supervisor takes in assigning cause to group poor performance will have a dominant influence on the attributions that are made. The supervisor's choice of corrective actions will be influenced by these attributions.

According to Brown (1984), attributing cause to group poor performance appears to be ripe for research. A combination of field and laboratory research will be needed to test each of the perspective models that were listed. Controlled test of the theories can be accomplished with laboratory studies, and field research can be used to provide insight into the situationally specific effects of each model.

The literature has indicated that the application of attribution theories in work settings has been limited to problems of individual poor

performance.

Supervisors and managers must be aware of the distinctions between individual and group poor performance since group poor performance can have a greater impact on the organization. Supervisors need to be conscious of the importance of accurately diagnosing group poor performance. Also, supervisors need to be aware of the perspectives other than consensus information when formulating, modifying, or refining attributions. Training programs may be needed to increase the supervisor's awareness of useful decisions rules for attributing cause to group poor performance.

REFERENCES

Brown, K.A. Explaining group poor performance: An attributional analysis. *Academy of Management Review*, 1984, 9, 54-63.

Feldman, J.M. Beyond attribution theory: Cognitive processes in performance appraisal. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1981, 66, 127-148.

Green, S., & Liden, R. Contextual and attributional influences on control decisions. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1980, 65, 453-458.

Green, S.G., & Mitchell, T.R. Attributional processes of leaders in leader-member interactions. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, 1979, 23, 249-258.

Ilgen, D.R., Mitchell, T.R., & Fredrickson, J.W. Poor Performers: Supervisors' and subordinates' responses. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, 1981, 27, 386-410.

Kelley, H.H. Attribution theory in social psychology. In D. Levine (Ed.), *Nebraska Symposion on Motivation*, 1967 (Vol. 15). Lincoln University of Nebraska Press, 1967, 192-238.

Mitchell, T.R., & Kalb, L.S. Effects of job experience on supervisor attributions for a subordinate's poor performance. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1982, 67, 181-188.

Staw, B. Attribution of the causes of performance: A new alternative interpretation of cross-sectional research in organization. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, 1975, 13, 414-432.

Stevens, L., & Jones, E.E. Defense attribution and the Kelly cube. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1976, 34, 809-820.

Weiss, H.M., & Shaw, J.W. Social influences on judgements about tasks. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, 1979, 24, 126-140.

The Evolving View of Folk Art

by Ann Taft

For a folklorist, the task of defining folk art generally involves refuting prior definitions pronounced by art historians, art critics, and art collectors who in the age of the New Deal were collecting and exhibiting folk art in New York City galleries. The defining criteria for collecting folk art in the 1920s, '30s and '40s were largely based on aesthetics and little attention was paid to the individual artists (in fact, anonymity was often a determining factor), the community in which the art was created, or the traditional nature of the art form. With the rise of folklife and material culture studies in the United States in the 1960s, folklorists broadened their definition of folklore and began to include folk art and craft within their realm of study; this new interest set into motion an unpleasant battle between collectors and folklorists concerning the precise nature of folk art. This battle, which is periodically fueled and ignited at conferences held between the two camps (such as the most recent 1983 Washington Conference on Folk Art), essentially revolves around two radically opposed perspectives—the art historical approach which stresses the aesthetic quality of folk art and its simple, untutored style and the folkloristic or cultural approach which focuses on the individual artists and the particular cultural context in which an artistic tradition survives.

DEFINING FOLK ART

The three main criteria folklorists employ in defining folk art are: shared aesthetic, tradition, and informal transmission. Folk art, viewed within the context of a folk group, defined by Robert Redfield (1947) as a small, homogeneous, self-sufficient and self-perpetuating group, is based on a shared community aesthetic. The folk artist is cognizant of the needs and demands of his audience, which is usually local, and responds accordingly. In essence, then, folk art is the expression of a folk group's aesthetic. While a limited amount of individual creativity and innovation is allowed within the restraints of a given artistic tradition, individual desires are subsumed under the expectations of the group.

The second criterion of folk art is the traditional nature of the art form and the artistic process. Folk artists are conservative and priority is placed on the perpetuation of old designs and styles. Tradition in this sense means simply that the art form must have persisted through time.

According to John Vlach, "artworks grounded in social demands and communal preservation do not materialize out of thin air but are patterned out of ideas and values passed on from generation to generation" (1980:347).

Folk art is learned in an "informal, yet often highly structured" manner. Folk artists generally acquire their skills from "one or more senior artists in their community who share their knowledge through direct instruction and criticism of the apprentice's work" (Teske 1982-83:37-38). Folk art traditions are frequently passed on to members of an immediate folk group.

Folklorists studying folk art pay particular attention to the cultural context in which folk art is created. They attempt to ascertain the individual artist and his community's aesthetic and views on the tradition rather than imposing their own aesthetic values. Pottery, quilts, basketry, needlework, and wood carving would all be considered folk artifacts if they satisfied the criteria outlined above. Such artworks as outdoor sculptured environments, for instance, created by self-taught artists or visionary artists, who worked outside of a community tradition, would not be considered folk art.

Folk art is generally distinguished from folk craft by the intended function of the object: "If a pleasure-giving function predominates, the artifact is called art; if a practical function predominates, it is called craft" (Glassie 1972:253). The division between art and craft is becoming less and less important since, as Henry Glassie further points out, "most folk art exists within the immediate context of folk craft" (1972:253). For the purposes of this essay, however, folk art and not folk craft will be the central focus.

A succinct, comprehensive overview of the early days of collecting folk art from an art historical perspective may be found in Beatrix Rumford's essay "Uncommon Art of the Common People: A Review of Trends in the Collecting and Exhibiting of American Folk Art" (1980). In this essay we discover that the 1920s and '30s witnessed a burgeoning interest among art collectors and museum personnel in collecting folk art. The focus of this interest was in New York City galleries and museums, and it was through the medium of exhibitions that ideas about folk art were conveyed to the public. The earliest public showing of folk art was in 1924 at the Whitney Studio Club in New York in an exhibition entitled "Early American Art."

Early collectors and exhibitors of folk art were primarily concerned with the aesthetic qualities of folk art. Little attention was given to cultural documentation and, thus, it was the aesthetic of the collectors, rather than the creators, that defined the genre of folk art during the 1920s and '30s and for many years hence. Folk art was obviously cast

in opposition to fine art, and consequently, a false and stereotypical view of the folk artist was presented to the public. In his article, "American Folk Art: Questions and Quandaries" (1980) John Vlach outlined the four major defining criteria for folk art that have been employed by art historians and collectors. First, the folk artist was seen as an individual creator rather than someone working within a community-based tradition. Second, folk art was touted as the simple work of anonymous, untrained individuals. Third, folk artists were viewed as an instinctive lot who made no aesthetic choices; their art emerged from a natural ability that was both automatic and uncontrollable. Fourth and last, folk art was characterized by its "naivete," implying that the artist was working without culturally determined "mental concepts" in producing his art.

The individual who stands out in the 1930s as a major force in the folk art collectors world is Holger Cahill. In 1932 Cahill, then acting director of the Museum of Modern Art, staged an exhibition entitled "American Folk Art, The Art of the Common Man in America: 1750-1900." In the introductory essay of the exhibition catalogue, Cahill defined folk art as:

> The expression of the common people, made by them and intended for their use and enjoyment. It is not the expression of professional artists made for a small cultured class, and it has little to do with the fashionable art of its period. It does not come out of an academic tradition passed on in schools, but out of craft tradition plus the personal quality of the rare craftsman who is an artist [1932:6].

Cahill's exhibition clearly marked the high point in the age of collecting folk art. It served as both testimony to the interest and activity in folk art collecting and as an impetus for further collecting efforts. It is worthwhile to examine Cahill's introduction to determine the overarching ideas and perceptions that influenced early collectors, what was being collected, and from whom and where folk art was "discovered."

It has already been established that the aesthetic quality of an object prevailed as a criterion in collecting folk art. Objects from the 18th and 19th centuries comprised the majority of the folk art that was collected and exhibited. Collectors operated on the premise that folk art thrived from the early days of colonization up to the Civil War, but with the arrival of the machine age folk art production languished and soon ceased altogether. Thus, by 1865 the United States had progressed from a rural to an urban civilization and folk art no longer had a place in society (Cahill 1932:7). Carrying this logic one step further, we may surmise that Cahill and others viewed folk art as a rural phenomenon which was not being created in their day—indeed, they were collecting survivals produced by anonymous individuals in an era long past.

The majority of the objects in Cahill's exhibition were from New

England and Pennsylvania. Early collectors believed that these were the richest regions in the United States for finding folk art. Objects made by the Pennsylvania Germans constituted the majority of American folk art. Collectors also recognized a third region which produced exemplary folk art, that of the Spanish-American Southwest. Because of the aesthetic bias of the collectors, three regions, two in the northeast and one in the Southwest, were purported as the only places where folk art was being created.

Specifically, what was included in this exhibit of American folk art? According to Cahill "the greatest production of American folk art was in painting" (1932:10). Inn signs, shop signs, and paintings on velvet were included in the exhibit along with a large stock of portraitures (1932:10). The second largest category of folk art was sculpture; in this area, ship figureheads, weathervanes, wild fowl decoys, shop signs, lawn figures and toys were the featured items (1932:19). Although Cahill believed that such works of art deserved a place in the history of art in the United States, it was not art that should be "valued as highly as the work of our greatest painters and sculptors" (1932:27). Cahill's contention that folk art represented "simple, unaffected and childlike expressions[s] of men and women who . . . did not even know that they were producing art" succinctly expresses the general opinion held about folk art during the first half of this century.

In addition to Cahill's 1932 publication, two other catalogues in the art historical vein deserve mention. Abby Aldrich Rockefeller owned a significant collection of folk art which is presently housed at Williamsburg in Virginia. In 1957, Nina Fletcher Little published a catalogue of this collection entitled *The Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection.* A 1974 exhibition catalogue, *The Flowering of American Folk Art,* published 50 years after the first folk art exhibition is an important catalogue of paintings, sculptures and decorations viewed solely from an aesthetic perspective. This catalogue is testimony to the continued employment of the aesthetic approach to folk art. Two works in the art historical tradition that approach a folkloristic look at art are Allan Ludwig's study of Yankee gravestone art (1966) and Robert Trent's study of a Connecticut chairmaking tradition (1977).

The Index of American Design (1950) by Erwin Christensen and produced under the direction of Holger Cahill as a WPA Federal Art Project is an important record of American design. It was commissioned in response to artists' need for work as well as a public desire for information on American design. The *Index* "is the story, told in pictures, of articles of daily use and adornment in this country from early colonial times to the close of the nineteenth century" (1950:ix). The collection includes photographs and watercolor renditions of weathervanes, furniture, costumes, and pictorial art.

Twenty-six years after the first exhibition of folk art was presented, collectors, critics, and curators were still debating over the definition of folk art. In the Spring 1950 *Antiques* magazine published an article entitled "What is American Folk Art?" which brought together thirteen authorities to express their views on folk art. This collection of statements represents the theoretical base employed by early collections of American folk art. Contributors included art critics, curators, individuals from art museums and historical associations, and one folklorist—Louis C. Jones. Their views on folk art varied widely, ranging from statements claiming that folk art was the "naive expression of a deeply felt reality by the unsophisticated American artist" (1950:355), "child art on an adult level" (1950:356), and the "crude imitations of the luxuries enjoyed by the upper classes" (1950:357) to folk art being "home-grown art" (1950:360). It would be difficult to arrive at a composite definition of folk art from such disparate viewpoints, yet what this symposium of opinions succeeds in doing is revealing the lack of consensus over the nature of folk art and the relative lack of folklorists' statements on the matter. Up until the 1960s folklorists had emphasized the study of oral traditions over the material aspects of culture. Several folklorists had, however, published a number of works in the first half of this century on folk art which are worthy of note (see, for instance, Rice and Stoudt 1929 and Stoudt 1937). John Baer Stoudt and John Joseph Stoudt were working under the aegis of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, a society which has had a long history of interest in folk art (Bronner 1984:xxii).

ART AS A SOURCE OF SOCIAL HISTORY

The lone folklorist who was represented in the *Antiques* symposium was Louis C. Jones. Jones, director of the New York State Historical Association and the Farmers Museum at Cooperstown since 1947, was an important force in the study of American folk art. Jones built up a major collection of folk art and contributed to the growing interest in folk art, largely through a major exhibition and catalogue, co-authored with Agnes Jones, entitled *New-Found Folk Art of the Young Republic* (1960).

Jones' efforts and involvement in the folk art movement are best viewed in light of the developing field of folklife studies led by Don Yoder in the early 1960s. The outdoor museum, of which Jones was a director, was an important institution for recording and studying traditional culture. Employing a folklife approach, Jones was one of the first folklorists to analyze material traditions in an effort to understand

folk culture as a whole. Although Jones approached folk art from an aesthetic and art-oriented perspective, he was interested in folk art as a source of social history. "The importance of a folk genre piece," stated Jones "may be greater as a document than as a work of art, and it should be recognized as a supplement to the written word, as a historical source" (1982:167).

Another individual who contributed to the *Antiques* symposium and who viewed art as a source of learning about American culture was John Kouwenhoven. His ideas were first aired in a seminal book entitled *Made in America: The Arts in Modern Civilization* (1948) which has had a lasting influence on material culture specialists and folklorists. Kouwenhoven went beyond suggesting that we shift our thinking about the nature of folk art. In his attempt to use nonverbal evidence to gain insight into American culture, Kouwenhoven contributed greatly to material culture and American Studies scholarship. Kouwenhoven further suggested that such artifacts must be studied in their cultural context, a view shared by folk art scholars today.

Kouwenhoven suggested that there was no folk art in the United States and that what was being called folk art was merely "surviving remnants of traditional folk arts" which were transferred from European traditions (1982:88). Kouwenhoven coined the term "vernacular arts" to refer to those artistic forms ("tools, toys, buildings, books, [and] machines") which were produced in an expanding democratic civilization (1982:88). "In the vernacular," stated Kouwenhoven in the *Antiques* article, ". . . we can discover the sources of artistic forms which belong to our own time and place" (1950:359). Kouwenhoven believed it was these "vernacular" objects that revealed more about American culture than old world survivals. Kouwenhoven was clearly in the forefront of American Studies in his criticism of scholars who neglected to use nonverbal evidence to understand American culture and who relied too heavily on "verbal translations of reality" (1982:90). Kouwenhoven contended that anthropologists and archaeologists possess the techniques which may be used in evaluating the artifacts and folk arts of American culture.

ART AND CULTURE: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACH

Anthropologists, while mostly concerned with "primitive" art, have contributed to the vast body of literature on traditional art. It is useful to review the literature on anthropology and art in the context of folk art scholarship for obvious reasons, the central one being the influence (both realized and potential) that several anthropologists have had on folklorists' definitions and approaches to the study of folk art.

In their study of primitive art, anthropologists have taken the view that art is a manifestation of culture. Art objects are seen as cultural artifacts which may reveal a multitude of information about cultural patterns. Anthropologists such as Clifford Geertz and Robert Plant Armstrong contend that art has a potent symbolic power and that to understand another culture one must study those things that produce, what Armstrong calls, "affect." Anthropologists have stressed the need for studying art within the context of the culture which produces it. In 1927 Franz Boas wrote:

> each culture can be understood only as an historical growth determined by the social and geographical environment in which each people is placed and by the way in which it develops the cultural material that comes into its possession from the outside or through its own creativeness [1955:4].

In 1927 Franz Boas laid out the essentials of a definition of art in anthropology in his widely influential book *Primitive Art*. Art, contended Boas, is concerned with form and with the ideas associated with the form. An artistic form, which tends to remain stable in a "primitive" culture, is the result of technical experience. Artistic enjoyment is, in part, derived from the form of the art object because technical expertise and a feeling for form and beauty are inextricably linked. Art is also the expression of thoughts and emotions and often serves as a meaningful symbol within a culture. Boas pointed out that artistic enjoyment may also derive from natural forms, but because they are not the work of human activity they cannot be considered art (1955:11-13). In sum, Boas stressed the relationship between cultural meaning and art; the importance of technique, skill and competence required to produce art; and the reaction of members of the society to the final art form.

Ruth Bunzel's *The Pueblo Potter: A Study of Creative Imagination in Primitive Art* (1929) is a study of pottery traditions in several Pueblo communities. Working in the anthropological tradition, Bunzel was concerned with the origin and development of traditional pottery forms. She was interested in the individual artists' response to the material and cultural environment in producing their art. This was a pioneering work in the field of anthropology which affirmed that folk art was an important cultural element. Bunzel's work demonstrated that any study of an artistic tradition must involve a close look at individual artists and the particular culture in which they are working.

Anthropologists have also been interested in the symbolic nature of art. This school of thought may be viewed as an extension of Boas' theory of art as an element of culture. Art is more than an aspect of culture, however; it embodies cultural meaning and serves as a symbol for cultural ideas and beliefs. Clifford Geertz, in an essay entitled "Art as a

Cultural System," (1976) propounded that a theory of art is at the same time a theory of culture. Geertz proposed a semiotic approach to art which is concerned with the meaning behind works of art—with "how signs signify" (1976:1497). In a move away from an aesthetic or functional approach to art, Geertz suggested that to study an art form is to study those aspects of culture which are collectively formed and that are deeply rooted in a culture (1976:1478). The connection between art and collective life lies only on the level of deep cultural meaning and, thus, an investigation of signs must occur in their natural habitat.

An anthropologist whose work has had wide influence among folklorists studying material culture is Robert Plant Armstrong. In his classic work *The Affecting Presence* (1971), Armstrong talks about art, not in terms of beauty or aesthetics, as have so many scholars before him, but as works of affecting presence. He defined such works as objects and happenings in a culture that are "purposefully concerned with potency, emotions, values, and states of being or experience—all, in a clear sense, powers" (1971:4).

Inherent in this approach to art is the importance of the intention of the creator in producing a work conveying affect. Works of art which are intentionally produced are invested with feeling and are accorded special treatment within a culture. Armstrong, like Boas, distinguished between affecting works created by man and those that occur naturally; the latter, concur both, do not come under the purview of the anthropologist, even though they are recognized as producing an affect. An example of an affecting thing occurring naturally would be the tree that "explodes into the most exquisitely formed, flamboyantly irridescent blast of color" that Roger Welsch discussed in a 1980 essay on defining folk art (1980:232). The tree obviously produces "affect" and is viewed as an affecting work by the local community but it cannot be considered art because it is not the work of humans. Henry Glassie, in his discussion of folk objects, insists upon the importance of artistic **intentions**. "Art cannot include things," states Glassie, "which the producer did not consider aesthetically, even when we find them pleasing" (1968:30).

The affecting work should not be viewed as a symbol but rather as an idea. Once the work is created it embodies the idea the creator had in mind. "The affecting presence, then" stated Armstrong "is a very particular cultural reality, an entity, like the creator from whom it sprang and whom it perpetuates" (1971:195).

Folklorists' interest in material culture grew out of the folklife studies movement led by Don Yoder in the United States in the 1960s. This movement, which began in Europe in the early 1900s, served to broaden folklorists' notion of appropriate subjects of research; the folklife approach embraced all aspects of folk culture, including material culture. Up until that time, folklorists were mostly concerned with oral traditions. Folklife specialists advocated that material traditions should be studied in relation to culture as a whole. This movement, coupled with the rising interest in "contextual" studies which emphasized the importance of context over text and the performance qualities of folklore, may be viewed as the beginning of a shift away from looking at folk art as a text to be collected and more as a process to be examined in a live context.

If the folklife studies movement pointed up the need to look at material aspects of culture as well as spiritual and oral aspects, then Henry Glassie's study *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States* (1966) was a landmark work which signaled the nascent interest on the part of folklorists in studying material culture. Glassie drew upon the disciplines of folklore, folklife, and cultural geography in his effort to define folk cultural regions based on evidence supplied by material culture. Although Glassie relied heavily on folk house types for examples, his study laid the groundwork for a rigorous study of folk art. In *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture*, Glassie defined material culture as those aspects of "human learning which provide a person with plans, methods, and reasons for producing things which can be seen and touched" (1968:2). Glassie employed Robert Redfield's definition of the folk society and noted that students of material culture would not be confronted with an ideal folk society but rather would be faced with groups influenced and dominated by popular culture. A folk group, then, could be distinguished from an elite or popular group by its conservative orientation. A folk object, says Glassie, is both traditional and "non-popular." It persists through time and is created by groups who are part of neither high culture nor mass culture (1968:6).

Henry Glassie's viewpoints diverge most dramatically from Holger Cahill's statements made in the early 1930s in his consideration of the aesthetics of the folk group in determining the "folk" nature of an object as well as viewing folk art, first and foremost, as a cultural artifact. In an essay entitled "Folk Art" (1972) published four years after *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture* Glassie classified folk art in relation to cultural norms. Folk art, he posited, relies on local support and endorsement; is divorced from "rapidly changing fashions"; and is conservative and enduring (1972:258). In addition, Glassie considered questions of form, style, and audience. In a folkloristic study of art it is crucial to understand both the aesthetic views of the artist and the folk group within which the artist works and how those aesthetics are articulated in the art form. "The problem of folk art (as opposed to folk craft) scholarship, then," stated Glassie in this essay "lies less in identifying specific forms and technics than it does in identifying the characteristics

of the traditional aesthetic philosophy that governs the selection, production, treatment, and use of forms" (1972:253-254). In an attempt to understand the folk aesthetic it is necessary to employ a rigorous study based on cultural, artifactual, scientific, and behavioral observations (1972:268).

Glassie's thinking in the field of material culture has developed most profoundly along the lines of structural theory, in seeing the deep relationship between folk objects and the environment from which they arise. In an essay entitled "Structure and Function, Folklore and Artifact" (1973) Glassie outlined a structural approach to the study of artifacts. In a structural analysis the scholar moves "from properties of the object to properties in the mind of the object's producer" (1973:326). Such a study entails selecting an object and determining how form is related to function and how structure is related to meaning (1973:317). This type of study requires looking at artifacts more as signs than as objects, yet "the artifact should be analyzed as practical and aesthetic, as object and sign" (1973:340).

Glassie applied his structural theory of artifacts in a work entitled *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: A Structural Analysis of Historic Artifacts* (1975). Although this book is not directly related to folk art, as defined for the purposes of this essay, the import of Glassie's thinking is significant in the broad field of material culture studies of which folk art is a part.

In a 1978 essay "Meaningful Things and Appropriate Myths: The Artifact's Place in American Studies" Glassie furthered his ideas about probing artifacts for hidden structure and meaning. Here, he proposed that artifactual language contained as much information about humanity and culture as verbal language. Thus, to discover cultural meaning it is essential to employ artifacts as a rich source of data. In many ways, Glassie was furthering Kouwenhoven's ideas, which were laid out in the 1940s, regarding the use of nonverbal evidence to understand American civilization.

If Holger Cahill and others of his day brought folk art into the limelight with their collecting efforts, Michael Owen Jones brought folk art into the fore of folklore scholarship with a thorough analysis of a traditional artist and the context in which his creative activity is set. *The Hand Made Object and Its Maker* (1975), about a Kentucky chairmaker, was a watershed study of a folk artist for several reasons. First, Jones departed from previous scholarship by studying a contemporary, ongoing artistic activity rather than a tradition that was dead or dying. Secondly, the focal point of his study was the individual and not the art object per se. Jones' central concern was to understand human behavior and how and why people made things by hand; this approach led him to

explore human psychology and how it affected production. Jones eschewed concepts of "art," "folk," "culture," and "folklore" because they reveal little about the creative process. Thirdly, although studying what is traditionally thought of as a craft, Jones made no distinction between art and craft because he felt that aesthetics and utilitarian purposes were inextricably linked in the chairmaking business.

In a significant shift away from looking at the object, Jones focused on the process and the event of creating art. Jones examined the many factors which influenced the making of chairs: "tools, materials, techniques of construction, designs learned from other producers, customer preference, mistakes, accidents, and especially the craftsman's beliefs, values, and aspirations" (1975:viii). He defined art as:

> the sense of skill in the making or doing of that which functions as (among other things) a stimulus to appreciation of an individual's mastery of tools and materials apparent in what he has made; the output of that skill; and the activity manifesting the use of that skill [1975:15].

This approach represented a radical departure from previous studies of folk art which tended to value the art object more than the individual artists. Simon Bronner employed this "behaviorist" approach in his study of a Mennonite painter entitled "Investigating Identity and Expression in Folk Art" (1981). John Vlach noted Jones' influence in his study of a blacksmith, *Charleston Blacksmith* (1981). *The Hand Made Object and Its Maker* remains an important work for folklorists and folk art specialists; Jones questioned prior ways of looking at folk art and proposed new methods of gathering data, and in so doing, hoped to gain a better understanding of individual behavior and the creative process.

As pointed out earlier, the collectors of folk art focused their aesthetic attention on three regions of the country to define an entire genre of folk art. Such a bias is readily apparent today. In addition, certain groups were viewed as being more prolific than others. John Vlach's study *The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts* (1978), thus, stands out as an important work which drew upon a variety of disciplines—anthropology, history, and folklore—to define the material culture of Afro-Americans, a group which has largely been neglected in folk art scholarship. This work represents an historical and ethnographic approach to folk art. Vlach surveyed Afro-American decorative arts—pottery, boatbuilding, blacksmithing, basketry, musical instruments, wood carving, quilting, graveyard decorations, and architecture—and presented each one in the context in which the art was created. Vlach's study is significant because of its focus on the traditions of a particular group, viewed from the aesthetics of that group, and set within the context of their everyday life. Vlach pointed out in his introduction that

to look at objects alone would produce spurious results because Afro-American arts and crafts have been practiced for so long in so many places. Cultural influences, both African and European, have helped create these traditions and only when viewed in that light can they be properly understood. An anthology of articles on Afro-American arts and crafts (1983) edited by William Ferris is also an important contribution to scholarship on black material culture.

An exhibition held at the Winterthur Museum in Delaware in 1977 represented the first effort on the part of a major museum to display a portion of its folk art collection and include cultural information on the artifacts. Moreover, objects were selected on the basis of contemporary notions of what constituted folk art. In the exhibition catalogue *Beyond Necessity: Art in the Folk Tradition* (1977), Kenneth Ames analyzed and traced the dominant thoughts and trends in folk art study. Ames took a critical look at the assumptions and the stereotypes of folk art and artists which have been perpetuated for decades and which continue to influence the scholarship. In the latter portion of his essay, Ames adumbrated the key ingredients of folk art: tradition, decoration, and competence. Although Ames moved away from an aesthetic approach to folk art and employed concepts of tradition and competence as central criteria (concepts folklorists would agree with), the objects to which he continually refers are largely from the 18th and 19th Centuries. Yet, Ames' book remains a pivotal work which challenges assumptions about collecting and exhibiting folk art.

A second publication also emerged from the Winterthur exhibition. *Perspectives on American Folk Art* (1980), edited by Ian Quimby and Scott Swank, is a collection of essays written by folklorists, anthropologists, art historians, and curators. The essays, as stated in the preface, represent a "revisionist treatment" of folk art: they explore historical, regional, ethnic, and theoretical issues pertaining to folk art. The central aim of the conference which led to this publication was to move away from an elitist approach to folk art and broaden the scope of folk art scholarship.

Probably the 1980s analogue to the exhibition catalogues published in the 1920s and '30s would be the catalogues of folk art exhibitions highlighting the folk arts within a state or a region. The folk art presented in such exhibitions is art "which has grown through time within a community" (Siporin 1984:2). Historical information, cultural context, and an emphasis on the continuance of a tradition serve to place folk art squarely within the context of a local or community setting. These catalogues often classify art within a broad subject area such as frontier or ranch, or whimsey and recreation; the folk arts associated with those activities are thus presented in their natural context (albeit within an unnatural medium). Although these catalogues vary in size and range, several exemplary works are worth noting: *Always in Season: Folk Art and Traditional Culture in Vermont* (1982) by Jane Beck; *Utah Folk Art* (1980) by Hal Cannon; *Webfoots and Bunchgrassers: Folk Arts of the Oregon Country* (1980) by Suzi Jones; and *Folk Art of Idaho* (1984) by Steve Siporin.

Folk art exhibition catalogues from public agencies represent an important trend in folk art scholarship: "the new vantage of public agencies from which many students of folk art write is creating new perspectives, especially for the identification and presentation of folk artists" (Bronner 1984:269). By and large it is the state folk arts coordinators who are producing these exhibitions and catalogues which creatively combine the approaches of art historians, anthropologists, and folklorists. In keeping with the art historical tradition, they employ the medium of the exhibition to present folk art to the public. Borrowing from the anthropologist, they provide rich documentation on artistic traditions and set them within a meaningful cultural context. And, from folklore scholarship, they employ rigorous criteria for defining folk art based on shared aesthetics, tradition, and informal transmission. More studies focusing on artistic traditions within a state or region or otherwise culturally distinguishable locale are sorely needed.

The study of folk art may be broken down into two major eras: the age of collecting and the age of interpretation and analysis. Although folklorists tend to lament previous scholars overriding concern with collecting folklore and treating materials as items, collecting is an inevitable and necessary process in most scholarly studies. Holger Cahill was the quintessential collector of folk art in the 1930s and '40s. Although Cahill treated the artworks that he collected as mere texts and arbitrarily assigned categories of naive, folk, or primitive to them, his foresight in collecting art that was not fine art must be applauded.

Although there were a few folklorists studying folk art before the 1960s, material culture studies did not take a firm hold in the discipline of folklore before that time. Thus, in the 1960s folklorists entered an area of study that has been ongoing since the late 1920s. Folklorists approach to this new field of interest was to move away from looking at the art object for its beautiful or otherwise aesthetic qualities, as their forerunners had, and instead concentrate on the artistic tradition, the artists, and the cultural environment in which the art was produced. Folklorists began studying folk art at a time when the discipline of folklore was undergoing changes in its overall approach to folklore materials. This had a positive effect on the study of folk art and an interest in art as a text was supplemented with an emphasis on art in its context.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC RECOMMENDATIONS

"Major Studies"

American Folk Art, The Art of the Common Man in America: 1750-1900 (1932) by Holger Cahill was the first major exhibition catalogue which signaled the beginning of the folk art movement. Henry Glassie's *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States* (1968) was a landmark study in folklore. It was the first significant work focusing on material culture by a folklorist. *The Hand Made Object and Its Maker* (1975) by Michael Owen Jones represents an approach to folk art which focuses on the individual and creativity. *Made in America: The Arts in Modern Civilization* (1948) by John Kouwenhoven is an important work which called for the use of material culture as a source for social history. *Beyond Necessity: Art in the Folk Tradition* (1977) by Kenneth Ames challenges art historian's and collectors' assumptions about folk art.

"Major Reference Works"

The most important reference tool to date for American folk art is *American Folk Art: A Guide to Resources* (1984) edited by Simon Bronner. It contains bibliographic essays on folk art organized around major topics. Simon Bronner's *Bibliography of American Folk and Vernacular Art* (1980) is the only comprehensive bibliography on American folk art. *The Index of American Design* (1950) by Erwin Christensen is an important source book on early American folk art and design.

REFERENCES CITED

Ames, Kenneth L.
1977 Beyond Necessity: Art in the Folk Tradition. Delaware: The Winterthur Museum.

Armstrong, Robert Plant
1971 The Affecting Presence: An Essay in Humanistic Anthropology. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Beck, Jane
1982 Always in Season: Folk Art and Traditional Culture in Vermont. Montpelier: Vermont Council on the Arts.

Boas, Franz
1955 Primitive Art. New York: Dover Publications First published 1927.

Bronner, Simon
1980 Bibliography of American Folk and Vernacular Art. Bloomington: Folklore Publications Group.
1981 Investigating Identity and Expression in Folk Art. Winterthur Portfolio 16:65-83.
1984 American Folk Art: A Guide to Sources. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.

Bunzel, Ruth
1972 The Pueblo Potter: A Study of Creative Imagination in Primitive Art. New York: Dover Publications First published 1929.

Cahill, Holger
1932 American Folk Art, The Art of the Common Man in America: 1750-1900. New York: Museum of Modern Art.

Cannon, Hal, ed.
1980 Utah Folk Art. Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press.

Christensen, Erwin O.
1950 The Index of American Design. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Ferris, William
1983 Afro-American Folk Arts and Crafts. Boston: G.K. Hall & Co.

Geertz, Clifford
1976 Art as a Cultural System. Modern Language Notes 91:1473-1479.

Glassie, Henry
1968 Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
1972 Folk Art. *In* Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction, ed. Richard M. Dorson, pp. 253-280. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
1973 Structure and Function, Folklore and Artifact. Semiotica 7:313-351.
1975 Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: A Structural Analysis of Historic Artifacts. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
1977 Meaningful Things and Appropriate Myths: The Artifact's Place in American Studies. Prospects: An Annual of American Cultural Studies 3:1-49.

Jones, Louis C.
1982 Three Eyes on the Past: Exploring New York Folk Life. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Jones, Louis C. and Agnes Halsey Jones
1960 New-Found Folk Art of the Young Republic. Cooperstown: New York State Historical Association.

Jones, Michael Owen
1975 The Hand Made Object and Its Maker. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Jones, Suzi
1980 Webfoots and Bunchgrassers: Folk Arts of the Oregon Country. Salem: Oregon Arts Commission.

Kouwenhoven, John A.
1948 Made in America: The Arts in Modern Civilization. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc.
1982 American Studies: Words or Things? *In* Material Culture Studies in America, ed. Thomas Schlereth, pp. 79-92. Nashville: American Association of State and Local History.

Lipman, Jean and Alice Winchester
1974 The Flowering of American Folk Art. New York: The Viking Press.

Little, Nina Fletcher
1957 The Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Ludwig, Allan I.
1966 Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and its Symbols, 1650-1815. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press.

Quimby, Ian M.G. and Scott T. Swank, eds.
1980 Perspectives on American Folk Art. New York: W.W. Norton and Company.

Redfield, Robert
1947 The Folk Society. The American Journal of Sociology 52:293-311.

Rice, A.H. and John Baer Stoudt
1929 The Shenandoah Pottery. Strasburg, VA: Shenandoah Publishing House.

Rumford, Beatrix T.
1980 Uncommon Art of the Common People: A Review of Trends in the Collecting and Exhibiting of American Folk Art. *In* Perspectives on American Folk Art, eds. Ian Quimby and Scott Swank, pp. 13-53. Delaware: Winterthur Museum.

Siporin, Steve
1984 Folk Art of Idaho. Boise: Idaho Commission on the Arts.

Stoudt, John Joseph
1948 Pennsylvania Folk Art: An Interpretation. Allentown, PA: Schlecter's for the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society.